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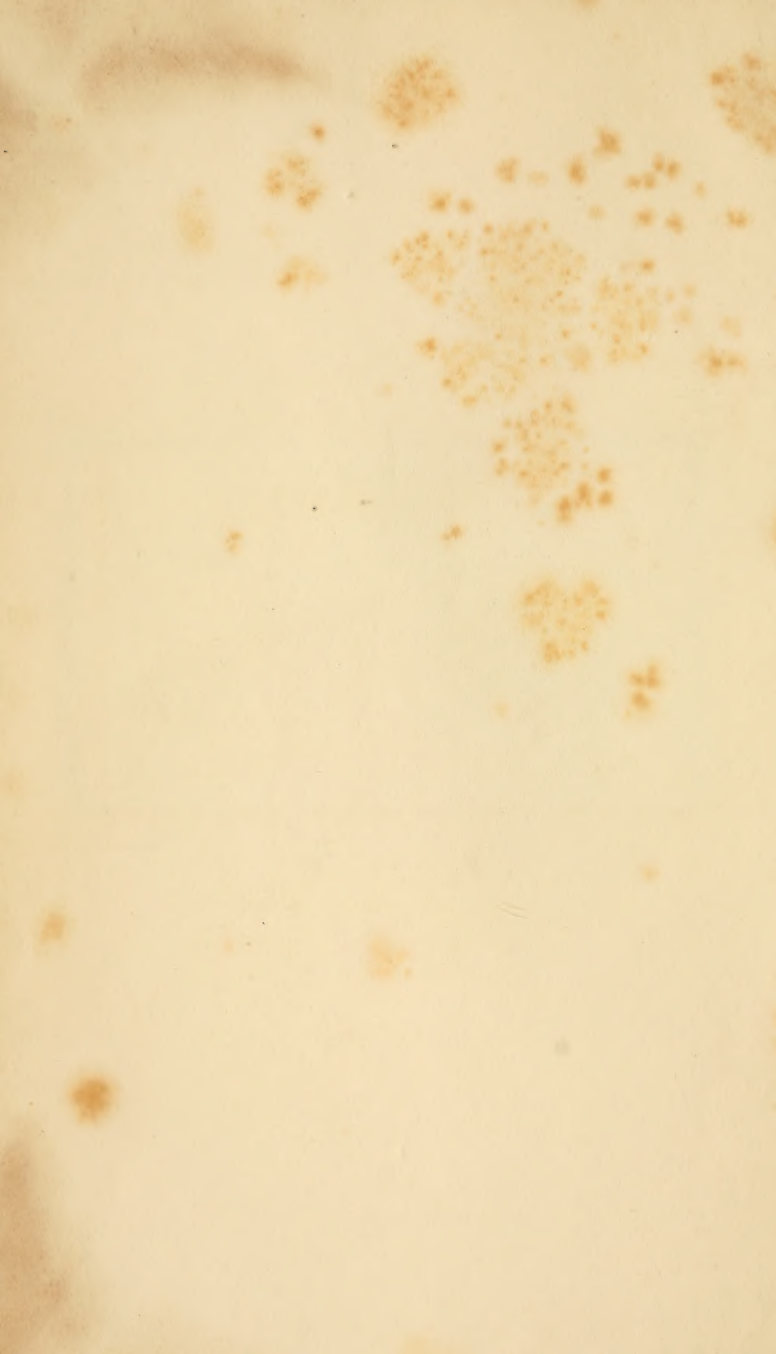
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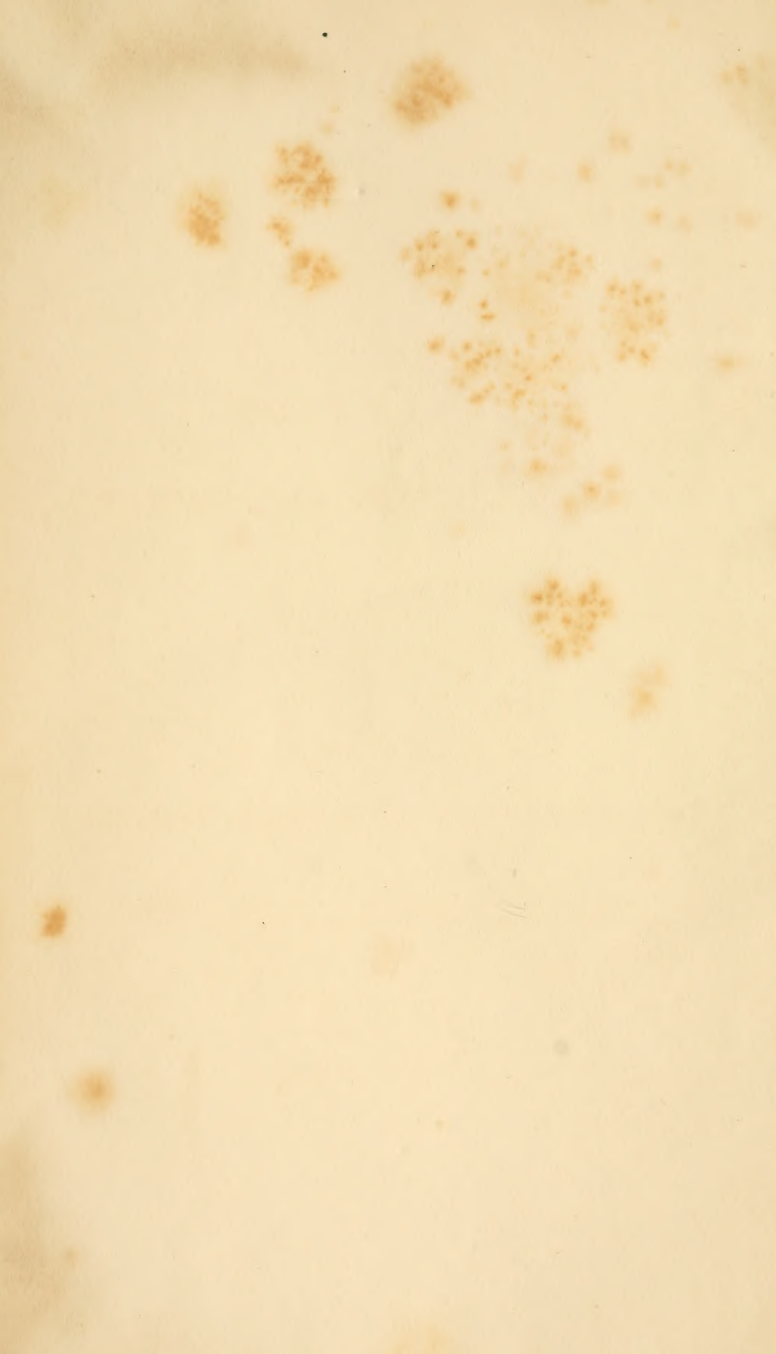
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SHUCKFORD'S
SACRED AND PROFANE HISTORY
CONNECTED;

WITH
THE DISSERTATION ON
THE CREATION AND FALL OF MAN.

CHARLES WOOD, Printer, Poppin's Court, Fleet Street, London.

SHUCKFORD'S

SACRED AND PROPHANE HISTORY

CONNECTED

WITH

THE DISCOVERY OF

THE CREATION AND FALL OF MAN

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE INDIANS

SACRED AND PROFANE
HISTORY OF THE WORLD
CONNECTED,

FROM
THE CREATION OF THE WORLD
TO
THE DISSOLUTION OF THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE AT THE DEATH OF SARDANAPALUS, AND TO THE DECLENSION OF THE KINGDOMS OF JUDAH
AND ISRAEL, UNDER THE REIGNS OF AHAZ AND PEKAH:

Including
THE DISSERTATION ON
THE CREATION AND FALL OF MAN.

BY
SAMUEL SHUCKFORD, D.D.

CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY, GEORGE THE SECOND.

REVISED, CORRECTED, AND GREATLY IMPROVED,
BY
JAMES CREIGHTON, B.A.

IN FOUR VOLUMES,
VOL. III.

THE FIFTH EDITION,
*Illustrated with a new and correct Set of Maps and Plans, and
an Extensive Index.*

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PRINTED FOR WILLIAM BAYNES, PATERNOSTER ROW.

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

LORD VISCOUNT

CHARLES TOWNSHEND,

BARON OF LYNN REGIS,

KNIGHT OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER, &c.

THIS VOLUME

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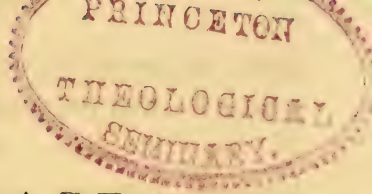
MOST HUMBL Y DEDICATED,

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S

MOST OBEDIENT

AND MOST HUMBLE SERVANT,

SAMUEL SHUCKFORD.



P R E F A C E.

THE first and second volumes of this History, which I offered some years ago to the public, so fully explain the nature and design of my undertaking, that there is no need of any farther account of it. This third volume contains the Sacred History from the time when the Israelites passed the Red Sea to the death of Joshua; and I have, as in the former volumes, made such observations, as I thought might obviate or answer objections or difficulties in the Scripture accounts of some facts in those times. I have also given such hints of the heathen nations, as belong to this period, and may enable me to deduce the Profane History in a clear light, when I shall come down to an age, which may afford plenty of materials for a relation of the affairs of it.

I am sensible that the reader may expect

from me some account of the Jewish year, which he will not find in the ensuing volume. If the Israelites, when they came into Canaan, had not been instructed to compute such a number of days to a year, as might come very nigh to the true measure of it, they could not have continued long to keep their set feasts in their proper seasons. The heathen nations had as yet no notion of the year's containing more than three hundred and sixty days^a. But such a year falling short five days, and almost a quarter of a day of a true solar revolution, it must be evident that the stated feasts of Moses's law, if they had been observed in a course of such years, would have returned five days and almost a quarter of a day, in every year, sooner than the true season of the year for observing them could have returned with them, and this in a very few years must have brought them into great confusion^b. Moses appointed the Passover

^a See Preface to vol. i.

^b They must in a few years have come to celebrate the Passover, before they could have had lambs fit to be eaten. The wave sheaf-offering would have come about, before the barley was ripe to be reaped, and the Pentecost before the time of wheat harvest. Prideaux, Preface to part i of his Connection.

to be killed and eaten on the fourteenth day of the first month at even^c. On the same evening they began to eat unleavened bread^d, and continued eating it till the evening of the one-and-twentieth day^e. The wave sheaf was to be offered on the second day of unleavened bread^f. Fifty days after^g, or on the fifth day of the third month, two wave loaves were to be offered for the wheat harvest^h; and on the fifteenth day of the seventh monthⁱ, they were to celebrate their ending the gathering in all the fruits of their land^k. Moses lived almost forty years after his giving the Israelites these institutions. Now if all this while three hundred and sixty days had been computed to be a year, it is evident, that the feasts of

^c Exod. xii, 6—8 : Levit. xxiii, 5.

^d Exod. xii, 18.

^e Ibid.

^f Joseph. Antiq. lib. iii, c. 10.

^g Levit. xxiii, 15, 16.

^h Exod. xxxiv, 22.

ⁱ Levit. xxiii, 39.

^k In Canaan the produce of the earth seems to come on in the same course as in Egypt. In Egypt the barley was in the ear, when the wheat and the rye were not grown up, Exod. ix, 31, 32; so in Canaan the barley harvest came on first: then the wheat harvest, and after these, the gathering their other fruits, the fruits of their vineyards and olive-yards, &c.

the law would by this time have gone backwards almost two hundred and ten days, from what was the real season of the year, at which they were at first appointed; for forty times five days and almost a quarter of a day amount to near that number. But we find that, when the Israelites came into Canaan, and were to keep the Passover there on the fourteenth day of the month Abib^l, the corn was ripe in the fields^m. Jordan then overflowed all its banks, for which it was annually remarkable all the time of harvestⁿ; so that the Passover, and consequently the other feasts, fell this year about the times, when Moses at first stated them. Therefore the Israelites must have had some method to adjust their computed year to the true measure of a real one; otherwise the observation of their set festivals would have remarkably varied from their true seasons in a few years.

By what particular method the ancient Israelites regulated their year in this manner, may perhaps be difficult to be ascertained. However, I shall endeavour to

^l Josh. v, 10.

^m Ibid.; see book xii.

ⁿ Josh. iii, 15.

offer, what I think may be gathered from some hints in Moses's institutions relating to this matter.

Moses, in order to calculate and regulate the sacred festivals, directed the Israelites to observe the month Abib^o; which was to be unto them the beginning of months, that is, the first month of the year^p. On the fourteenth day of this month at even, they were to kill and eat the Passover^q. The day after, or the fifteenth, was the first day of unleavened bread^r, and, which ought to be particularly remarked, the first day of unleavened bread was always to fall upon a Sabbath; which I think is hinted in Levit. xxiii, 11. The wave sheaf was to be waved on the morrow after a Sabbath^s; but the wave sheaf was thus offered on the second day of unleavened bread^t; and consequently, if that day was the morrow after a Sabbath, then the day preceding or first day of unleavened bread was a Sabbath. If this point be rightly stated, it should be remembered, that the Sabbaths in this first month will

^o Deut. xvi, 1.

^p Exodus xii, 2.

^q Ibid. 6—8; Levit. xxiii, 5.

^r Levit. xxiii, 6.

^s Ver. 11. The Hebrew words are, כַּמָּחֳמַת הַשַּׁבָּת *i. e.* *crastino sabbati*, on the day after the Sabbath.

^t Joseph. Antiq. lib. iii, ubi. sup.

fall thus; the first day a Sabbath, the eighth day a Sabbath, the fifteenth a Sabbath, the twenty-second a Sabbath, and the twenty-ninth a Sabbath. A month was ordinarily computed to be thirty days, neither more nor less^u. Accordingly, if we go through the second month, the Sabbaths in it must be thus: the sixth day a Sabbath, the thirteenth a Sabbath, the twentieth a Sabbath, and the twenty-seventh a Sabbath^x. In the third

^u Moses thus computes the months in his account of the Flood. From the seventeenth day of the second month, to the seventeenth day of the seventh month; for five whole months he reckons one hundred and fifty days, Gen. vii, 11, 24; viii, 3, 4, which is exactly thirty days to each month; for five times thirty days are one hundred and fifty.

^x Scaliger intimates that the twenty-second day of this second month was a Sabbath. *Lib. de Emendat. Temp.* p. 153, which, if true, would overthrow the order of the Sabbaths I am offering. But, 1. If the twenty-second of this month had been a Sabbath, then the fifteenth must have been a Sabbath also; and the people would have rested in their tents upon it, Exod. xvi, 30. But the fifteenth was a day of travel; the Israelites took their journey from Elim unto the Wilderness of Sin, on the fifteenth day of the second month, Exod. xvi, 1, so that this day was not a Sabbath, and consequently neither was the twenty-second. 2. Scaliger's opinion is founded upon an imagination that the quails were given in the very evening, and the manna on the morning after the Israelites came into this wilderness. If this were the fact, the Israelites gathering manna for six suc-

month the Sabbaths will fall thus: the fourth day a Sabbath: and the day after this Sabbath was the day of Pentecost, or the fiftieth day from the day of the bringing the sheaf of the wave offering^y; for from the day of waving it, on the day after a Sab-

cessive days, before Moses observed to them that to-morrow is the Sabbath (See ver. 22, 23), would indeed suggest that the Sabbath fell on the twenty-second. But how improbable is it that the Israelites should have fixed their camp, explored the country, found that they could not be supported in it, mutinied, obtained a miraculous supply from God; and all this in the remaining part of a day almost spent in travel? A supply given thus instantaneously would hardly have been known to be a miracle. They could not so soon have judged enough of the country they were in, to determine whether it might not be the natural product of it. In the wilderness of Shur they travelled three days before they came to high complaints for want of water, *Exod. xv, 22*. In like manner they came into the Wilderness of Sin, on the fifteenth day of the month, on a second day of the week. In about four days they had eaten up all that could be provided for them; and found absolutely that the land they were in could not support them. In this extremity they were ready to mutiny; on the fifth day, the twentieth day of the month, and the seventh day of the week at even, Moses obtained the quails for them, and on the next morning the manna. They gathered manna for six days, and then the Sabbath was on the twenty-seventh. In this way of computing, we allow the affairs transacted a necessary space of time; which will fix the Sabbaths to the days I have supposed to belong to them.

^y *Levit. xxiii, 15.*

bath, they were to count seven Sabbaths complete; unto the day after the seventh Sabbath fifty days, and upon that fiftieth day they were to offer the two wave loaves and their new meal-offering². Accordingly, from the sixteenth of the first month to the fifth day of the third month, counting inclusively, are fifty days; and the fiftieth day falls regularly on the morrow or day after the Sabbath, as Moses calculates it^a. The other Sabbaths in the third month fall thus: the eleventh day a Sabbath, the eighteenth a Sabbath, and the twenty-fifth a Sabbath. In the fourth month the Sabbaths fall as follows: the second day a Sabbath, the ninth a Sabbath, the sixteenth a Sabbath, the twenty-third a Sabbath, and the thirtieth a Sabbath. In the fifth month, the seventh day will be a Sabbath, the fourteenth a Sabbath, the twenty-first a Sabbath, and the twenty-eighth a Sabbath. In the sixth month, the fifth day is a Sabbath, the twelfth day a Sabbath, the nineteenth a Sabbath, and the twenty-sixth a Sabbath. We are now to begin the seventh month: and here I must observe, that Moses was

² Levit. xxiii, 17; Numb. xxviii, 26.

^a Levit. xxiii, 16.

ordered to *speak unto the children of Israel*, saying, *In the seventh month, in the first day of the month, shall ye have a Sabbath^b*. It may be here queried, whether this Sabbath was to fall seven days after the last Sabbath, and be one of the weekly Sabbaths of the year: or whether it was to be a common day of the week in itself, but ordered to be kept as a Sabbath by a special appointment. An answer to this query is easy to be collected from considering the appointments of this season. The tenth day of this seventh month was to be a day of atonement to afflict their souls, and they were especially ordered to do no work on that same day. There could have been no need of that particular order, if this tenth day had been a Sabbath; for upon account of its being a Sabbath day, no manner of work must have been done therein^c; this tenth day therefore did not fall upon a weekly Sabbath. But we may observe, that it would have been a weekly Sabbath, if some special appointment had not here taken place to prevent it; for as the twenty-sixth day of the sixth month was a Sabbath, the days going on in their common order;

^b Levit. xxiii, 24.

^c Exod. xx, 10.

the third day of the seventh month would have been a Sabbath, and consequently the tenth. But the tenth day thus appearing not to have been a Sabbath, it must be allowed that the third also was not a Sabbath day : and consequently, that there must have been some particular appointment, to cause the Sabbaths not to go on in the course in which they would otherwise have proceeded. Now the injunction of the first day of the seventh month's being a Sabbath appears very plainly to have been this appointment; and would always cause the tenth day not to fall on a Sabbath, but on a week-day, pertinently to the injunction of having no work done therein; so that I think, there can remain nothing farther to be considered, than at what distance this Sabbath day, on the first day of the seventh month, was to be kept from after the last preceding Sabbath. And I think we may conclude that seven days must have been the interval; for I think this was the law of the Sabbath without variation. Between Sabbath and Sabbath, *six days* they were to labour and do all their work; but the seventh day was to be *the Sabbath*^d; and if

^d Exod. xx, 9, 10.

this be allowed me, it will be plain that the Israelites must have here added two days to the end of the sixth month to make the sixth day of the week the last day of it; for the twenty-sixth day of this month was, as I have observed, a Sabbath^e; consequently, if this month, like other months, had contained only thirty days, the last day of it would have been the fourth day of the week, and the first day of the seventh month could not have been a Sabbath, in the manner which Moses appointed. Here therefore the Israelites kept two week-days more than this month would otherwise have afforded; and began the seventh month with the Sabbath, according to the injunction. But to go on: the first day of the seventh month being thus a Sabbath; it will follow, that in this month the eighth day would be a Sabbath, the fifteenth a Sabbath, the twenty-second a Sabbath, and the twenty-ninth a Sabbath. The tenth day of this month was the day of atonement^f; the fifteenth day began the feast of tabernacles^g, a feast to be kept for the gathering in the fruits of the land^h. This feast was thus to begin with a Sab-

^e Vid. quæ sup.

^f Levit. xxiii, 27.

^g Ver. 34.

^h Ver. 39.

bathⁱ, and after seven days' celebration, it was ended on the eighth day, namely, on the twenty-second day of this month, with another Sabbath^k. The twenty-ninth day of the seventh month being a Sabbath, the Sabbaths in the eighth month will fall thus: the sixth day will be a Sabbath, the thirteenth a Sabbath, the twentieth a Sabbath, and the twenty-seventh a Sabbath. In the ninth month, the fourth day will be a Sabbath, the eleventh a Sabbath, the eighteenth a Sabbath, and the twenty-fifth a Sabbath. In the tenth month, the second day will be a Sabbath, the ninth a Sabbath, the sixteenth a Sabbath, the twenty-third a Sabbath, and the thirtieth a Sabbath. In the eleventh month, the seventh day will be a Sabbath, the fourteenth a Sabbath, the twenty-first a Sabbath, and the twenty-eighth a Sabbath. In the twelfth month, the fifth day will be a Sabbath, the twelfth a Sabbath, the nineteenth a Sabbath, and the twenty-sixth a Sabbath, and the thirtieth day of this month would be the fourth day of the week. But here it must be remembered, that the first day of the ensuing

ⁱ Levit. xxiii, 39.

^k Ibid.

year, the first of the month Abib, must fall upon a Sabbath¹; so that here, as at the end of the sixth month, two days must be added to make the week and the year end together; that the first day of Abib may be regularly a Sabbath, after a due interval of six days between the last foregoing Sabbath and the day of it. In this manner Moses's appointments appear to carry the Israelites through the year in fifty-two complete weeks, amounting to three hundred and sixty-four days, and this would be a great approximation to the true and real solar year, in comparison of what all other nations at this time fell short of it. But still it must be remarked, that even a year thus settled would not fully answer; for the true length of the year being, as I have said, three hundred and sixty-five days and almost six hours; Moses's year, if thus constituted, would still fall short one day and almost six hours in every solar revolution, and this would have amounted to almost fifty days in the forty years, which he was with the Israelites, and therefore, had the Israelites began and continued computing their year in this manner, they would have

¹ Vid. quæ sup.

found at their entering into Canaan on the tenth day of their month Abib, that they were come thither, not just at the time of harvest, as they might have expected, nor when Jordan overflowed its banks, as it did annually; but rather they would have been there almost fifty days before the season, so that we must endeavour to look for some farther direction in Moses's appointments, or we shall be yet at a loss to say how the Israelites could keep their year from varying away from the seasons. But

I would observe, that there are several hints, in the injunctions of Moses, which may lead us through this difficulty. The feasts of the LORD were to be proclaimed in their seasons^m; and it is remarkable, that the season for the wave sheaf offering is directed in some measure by the time of harvest. *When ye be come into the land, which I give unto you, and shall reap the harvest thereof, then shall ye bring a sheafⁿ*—Thus again: *seven weeks shalt thou number unto thee; begin to number the seven weeks from such time as thou beginnest to put the sickle to the corn^o.*

^m Levit. xxiii, 4.

ⁿ Ver. 1C.

^o Deut. xvi, 9.

The numbering these weeks was to begin from the day of bringing the sheaf of the wave-offering^p, therefore the wave sheaf-offering and the Pentecost at the end of the weeks appear evidently to have been regulated by the corn season; which was sure to return annually after the revolution of a true year, however the computed year might vary from, or not come up to it. And the only question which can now remain is, whether the Israelites were to keep all their other feasts on their set days, exactly at the return of the computed year; or whether their other feasts were regulated along with these of the wheat sheaf and Pentecost, so as to have their computed year corrected and amended as often as the return of harvest showed there was reason for it. Now this last intimation appears plainly to me to have been the fact; for I observe, that the fifteenth day of the seventh month is supposed never to fall before they had gathered in the fruits of their land: because on that day they were always to keep a feast for the ending all their harvest^q. But if the computed year had gone on without correction, the fifteenth day of the seventh month,

^p Levit. xxiii, 15.

^q Ver. 39.

every year falling short a day and almost a quarter of a true solar year, would in a number of years have come about, before the time for beginning their harvest. And Moses lived long enough to have seen it very sensibly moving towards this absurdity; and consequently cannot be supposed to have left it fixed in such a manner. Rather the whole computed year was to be regulated by the season of harvest. When the year was ended, the Israelites were to proclaim for the ensuing year the feasts of the LORD^r; and they were, I think, to be kept at their times according to this public indiction of them: and in order to fix their times right, they were in the first place to observe the month Abib^s, the harvest month^t, to appoint

^r Levit. xxiii, 4.

^s Deut. xvi, 1. I need not, I think, observe, that the weather in Judea was not so variable as in our climate; and consequently, that seed time and harvest were seasons more fixed with the inhabitants of this country than with us.

^t It may be queried, whether Abib be the name of a month. The Israelites in these times seem to have named their months no otherwise than first, second, third, &c. *Nomina mensium ab initio nulla fuere*, says Scaliger. The Hebrew word *Abib* signifies *ripening*, and perhaps Moses did not mean by *Chodesh ha Abib*, the month Abib, intending Abib as a proper name, but the *month of ripening*, or of the corn being fit for the sickle.

the beginning of that to its true season. This they might do (as often as they found it varying from it, by the corn not growing ripe for the sickle at or about the sixteenth day of this month, the second day of unleavened bread^u, on which they were wont to offer their wave-sheaf^x) in the following manner. When, I say, they found at the end of the year, from the experience of two or three past years, as well as the year then before them, that harvest was not so forward as to be fit to be begun in about sixteen days; they might then add so many days to the end of their year as might be requisite, that they might not begin the month Abib until, upon the sixteenth of it, they might expect to put the sickle to the corn, and bring the wave-sheaf in their accustomed manner. This, I think, might be the method in which the ancient Israelites adjusted their year to the seasons; and I conceive, that when they added to their year in this manner, the addition they made was of whole weeks, one, two, or more, as the appearing backwardness of the season required; that the first of Abib might fall upon

^u Exod. xii; Levit. xxiii, ubi sup.

^x Joseph. ubi sup.

a Sabbath, and the other Sabbaths of the year follow in their order, as I have above fixed them. We may observe, concerning this method of adjusting the year, that it is easy and obvious; no depths of human science, or skill in astronomy, are requisite for proceeding according to it. The Israelites could only want once in about twenty years to *lift up their eyes, and to look into their fields*^s, and to consider before they proclaimed the beginning of their month Abib, whether, or how much they wanted of being *white to harvest*; and this, with the observing their sabbaths as above related, would furnish them a year fully answering all the purposes of their religion or civil life. Now this method being thus capable of answering all purposes, without leading them to a necessity of fixing equinoxes, estimating the motions of the heavenly bodies, or acquainting themselves with any of those schemes of human learning, by which the heathen nations were led into their idolatries, I am the more apt to think, that this was the method which God was pleased by the hand of Moses to suggest to them.

^s John iv, 35.

I am aware of only one point, which can furnish any very material objection to what I have offered. The Israelites were ordered by Moses to keep the beginning of their months as solemn feasts, on which they were to offer special sacrifices²; and they were to celebrate them like their other high festivals with blowing of trumpets³. And they seem to have carefully observed this appointment in their worst, as well as in their best, from their earliest to their latest times. In the days of Saul, these days were kept as high feasts, on which a person, who used to sit there, was sure to be missed, if absent from the king's table⁴. They are mentioned as held by David and Solomon amongst the solemn festivals⁵. As such, Hezekiah afterwards provided for the observance of them⁶. The Prophets mention them in like manner⁷, and Ezra took care to revive them at the

² Numb. xxviii, 11.

³ Id. x, 10.

⁴ 1 Sam. xx, 5.

⁵ 1 Chron. xxiii, 31; 2 Chron. ii, 4; viii, 13.

⁶ 2 Chron. xxxi, 3.

⁷ Isaiah i, 13, 14; lxvi, 23; Ezek. xlvi, 1; Hos. ii, 11;

Amos viii, 5.

return from the captivity^f; and it appears to have been the custom of all the Israelites, who feared God, to observe these days among the feasts of the house of Israel, as is evident from the character given to Judith, amongst other things, for her care in this matter^g. In their later days the Jews fixed the days of these feasts, by the appearance of the new Moon^h; and great pains were taken to begin the month and the moon togetherⁱ. This was the practice, when the author of the book of Ecclesiasticus wrote; for he tells us, that *from the Moon is the sign of feasts*^k; and the Jewish writers say, that Moses appointed this practice, and that the Israelites proceeded by it, from the beginning of the law^l. The LXX indeed seem to have been of this opinion, and accordingly, except

^f Ezra iii, 5.

^g Judith viii, 6.

^h Talmud in Tract. Rosh. Hashanah; Maimonides in Ked-dush.; Hachod.; Selden de anno civili veterum Judæorum; Scaliger. Can. Isagog. lib. iii, p. 222; Clem. Alexand. Stromat. lib. vi, p. 760, edit. Oxon.

ⁱ The English reader may see the translation of Jurieu's History of the Doctrines and Worship of the Church, vol. i, p. ii, c. 8, Prideaux, Connect. Preface to vol. i.

^k Eccclus. xliii, 7.

^l Vid. Spen. de Leg. Heb. p. 810.

in three or four places only^m, in their translation of the Hebrew Scriptures, they render the expression for *the beginning of the months* by the Greek word *νεμηνια*ⁿ, or *νεομηνια*, the term constantly used by the heathen writers for their festival of the new Moons observed by them°. And we have followed the LXX, and do generally call the first days of the months, *the new moons*, in our English Bibles. But if the ancient Israelites fixed these festivals in this manner, they could not compute their months and year as I have intimated; for in a calendar formed according to what I have offered, the new Moons and first days of the months would not agree with one another. The most learned Dean Prideaux has given a full account of the manner of the Jewish year in their later ages. It consisted of twelve lunar months, made up, alternately, of twenty-nine or of thirty days, and brought to as good an agreement as such a year could

^m Vid. 2 Chron. viii, 13; Isaiah lxvi, 23; Amos viii, 5.

ⁿ Numb. x, 10; xxviii, 11; 1 Sam. xx, 5; 2 Kings iv, 23; 1 Chron. xxiii, 31; Psalm lxxxi, 3; et passim.

° Vid. Herodot. lib. de vit. Homer c. 33; Plutarch de vit. n. l. ære alieno, p. 828; Theophrast. Character. Ethic. iv; Lucian. in Icaro Menip. p. 731.

have with the true solar year, by an intercalation of a thirteenth month every second or third year^p. And some year of this sort the Israelites must have used in and from the time of Moses, if they had observed the new Moons from his time, making them the directors of the beginning of their months, and keeping their feasts according to them.

But I would observe, 1. That it cannot be conceived, that Moses had any notion of computing months according to this lunar reckoning, for five successive months in his account were deemed to contain one hundred and fifty days^q; but had he computed by lunar months, one hundred and forty-eight days would have been the highest amount of them. In like manner, twelve months only made a Jewish year, until, at least, after the times of David and Solomon; for had there been in their times a thirteenth month added to the year, and that so frequently as in every second or third year, neither would twelve captains in David's, nor the same number of officers of the household in Solomon's time have been sufficient, by waiting each man his month, to have

^p Prideaux's Connect. Pref. to Part i.

^q Gen. vii, 12, 24; viii.

gone *throughout all the months of the year* in their waitings^r. No man of them waited more than one month in any one year^s, and therefore no years at this time had more than twelve months belonging to them. But the best writers seem fully satisfied in this point. “It can never be proved,” says Archbishop Usher, “that the Hebrews used lunary months before the Babylonian captivity^t.” Petavius seems to think, not till after the times of Alexander the Great, when they fell under the government of the Syro-Macedonian kings^u. 2. It is not probable, that GOD should command the Israelites to regulate their months by the Moon, or to keep a feast upon the particular day of the new Moon; for the law, if this had been a constitution of it, would have been calculated rather to lead them into danger of idolatry, than to preserve them from it. The practice of the later Jews in this matter prompted an author, cited by Clemens Alex-

^r 1 Kings iv, 5; 1 Chron. xxvii.

^s 1 Kings iv, 7.

^t Chronol. Pref. to the Reader. Vid. Scaliger. Emend.

Temp. p. 151.

^u Petav. Rationar. Temp., part ii, lib. i, c. 6.

andrinus, to charge them with idolatry^x; which charge, though I cannot think it well grounded, yet abundantly hints to me, that a feast of new Moons is not likely to be a precept of Moses's law. I think GOD would not have directed him to institute any thing, which could carry such an *appearance of evil*: especially when one great design of the manner of giving the law is declared to be, that the *Israelites when they lifted up their eyes to Heaven, and saw the Sun, and the Moon, and the Stars, even all the host of Heaven, should not be driven to worship them*^y. The nations, whom the Israelites were to drive out, seem to have served these gods, and in this manner; and it is not likely the Israelites should be required to do so unto the LORD their GOD^z; rather it might be expected, that they should be instructed in a method of beginning their

^x Μηδε κατα Ιουδαιας σεβασθε, και γαρ εκεινοι μονοι οιομενοι τον Θεον γινωσκειν, ουκ επισανται, λατρευοντες αγγελοις και αρχαγγελοις, μηνι και σεληνη, και εαν μη σεληνη φανη, σαββατον εκ αγθσι το λεγομενον πρωτον, εδε νεομηνιαν αγθσιν, ουτε αζυμα, ουτε εορτην, ουτε μεγαλην ημεραν. Clem. Alexand. Stromat. lib. vi, p. 270.

^y Deut. iv, 19.

^z Id. xii, 31.

months opposite to any show of agreement with the heathen superstitions. They were commanded not to use honey in any of their sacrifices^a; not to sow their fields with mingled seed^b; not to round the corner of their heads, nor mar the corners of their beards^c; which things were practised by the heathens as rites of religion, and therefore the Israelites were not allowed to do them. The Israelites were to be a *peculiar people unto the LORD their God*; and whilst there runs through the whole law a visible design of many of its institutions to separate them from other nations for this great purpose, is it likely there should be a direction for them to begin their months with the Moon, which was worshipped by the heathens as a high deity? I dare say, this *beauty of Heaven*^d, *lucidum cœli decus*, says Horace^e, *queen of Heaven*^f, *glory of the stars*^g, Horace expresses it, *siderum regina*^h, was not a regulator or director of the religious festivals of the God of Israel; rather his chosen people were led into some plainer

^a Levit. ii, 11.

^c Ver. 27.

^e Carm. Seculare.

^g Eccl. ubi sup.

^b Id. xix, 19.

^d Ecclus. xliii, 9.

^f See Jer. vii, 18.

^h Hor. ib,

method of computing their months, and that such a method, as might so vary the beginning of them from a determined relation to any light of Heaven, as to evidence, that the appointed holy-days, which they kept, they did indeed keep only unto the LORD. The author of the Book of Ecclesiasticus observes concerning the Moon, that *the month is called after her name*ⁱ; but this was not so to an ancient Israelite. In our English language the words *Moon* and *month* may have this relation; and a like thought is to be supported in the Greek tongue, in which the author of Ecclesiasticus wrote his Book. *Μην*, *the month*, may be a contraction from *μηνη*, *the Moon*, though I think it more natural to derive *μηνη* from *μην*, than *μην* from *μηνη*. However, in the Hebrew, *jareach*^k, or *lebanah*^l are the words which signify *Moon*; and *chodesh*^m is the word for *month*; and these have no such affinity to one another.

ⁱ Ecclus. xliii, 8.

^k ירח Vid. Gen. xxxvii, 9; Deut. iv, 19; Josh. x, 19; Job xxxv, 5; Psalm viii, 4; Eccles. xii, 2; Isaiah xiii, 10; Jer. viii, 2; Ezek. xxxii, 7; Joel ii, 10, &c.

^l Cantic. vi, 10; Isaiah xxiv, 23; xxx, 26.

^m Gen. viii, 4; Exod. xii, 2; Levit. xxiii, 24; Deut. i, 5; 1 Kings iv, 7, &c.

4. Indeed, in the Hebrew Bible, there is, I think, no one text, either in the Books of Moses, or in any other of the Books of the Old Testament, which intimate that the Israelites observed the day of the new Moon in any of their festivals. The Israelites were to offer their burnt-offerings unto the LORD in the beginning, not of their Moons, but [בראשי חרשיכם] *be-Rashei Chadsheichem, on the beginnings of their months*ⁿ, and the expression is the same, Numb. x, 10. The Israelites are there commanded to *blow with the trumpets . . . on the beginning of their months*; but nothing relating to the Moon is suggested to them. And this expression runs through all the texts of Scripture, in which the LXX have used the word νεομηνια or νεοσημηνια; or we in English, the new Moons. When the Shunamite would have gone to the Prophet, her husband said unto her, *wherefore wilt thou go to him to day? It is neither* (we render the place), *new Moon, nor sabbath*; the LXX say ου νεοσημηνια ουδε σαββατον but the Hebrew words are, *loa chodesh ve loa shabbath*^o, *it is not the month-day, nor the sabbath*. Thus again the Psalmist di-

ⁿ Numb. xxviii, 11.

^o 2 Kings iv, 23.

rects, *to blow up the trumpet*, not as we render it, *in the new Moons*, nor, as the LXX εὐ νεομηνία; but, *ba chodesh, upon the month day*^p. In none of the texts, that suggest this

^p Psalm lxxxi, 4. The latter part of the verse is thought by some writers to intimate something contrary to what I am offering. *Blow up the trumpet*, says the Psalmist, *on the month day*, after which follows, בַּחֹדֶשׁ לַיּוֹם חָגֵנוּ, *bacceseh lejom chaggenu*. The word *cese*^h, they say, is derived from the verb *casah*, to cover, so that *bacceseh* may signify, *at the covering*, or when the Moon is in conjunction with the Sun, covered, as it were, so as to give no light. Thus these writers think this verse intimates that the new Moon had been a solemn festival. But I would observe, the expression thus taken is so singular, unlike any thing to be met with in any other place of Scripture, notwithstanding the frequent mention of the festival here intended, that I think we cannot safely build upon it. Others derive the word *cese*^h from כָּסַס *casas*, to number out, and accordingly render *bacceseh, upon the appointed day*: but were this the sense of the place, the word would, perhaps, have been written not בַּחֹדֶשׁ, *bacceseh*, but בַּכָּסַס *baccesea*, see Proverbs vii, 21. The reader may see what has been offered upon this text in Scalig. de Emendat. Temp. lib. iii, p. 153; Cleric. Comment. in loc.; and will, after all, find the passage to be obscure, at most but doubtfully explained by those who have written upon it. לַיּוֹם is the same as בַּיּוֹם. See Proverbs vii, 21. הַגַּ הַחֹמֶת is the known expression for *the feast of tabernacles*. Deut. xvi, 13. And I have been apt to suspect, that transcribers have misplaced the letter ס in the word *case*^h, and wrote בַּחֹדֶשׁ instead of הַחֹמֶת, *i. e. bacceseh* for *hassuccoth*. In the Hebrew the letters of the one word might readily be

festival, is there any mention *ha Jareach* or *hal Lebanah*, of *the Moon*; for not the first day of the Moon, but the first day of the month, was the day observed by them. It is remarkable, that this signification of the Hebrew texts was so undeniable to the Jewish Rabbins, that they could not but own, that their observing the first days of months upon new Moons did not arise from any direction of the words of the law^r, they say it was one of the matters which Moses was taught in the Mount, and by tradition was brought down to them^s. It is, I think, undeniable, that the Jews did admit the use of a new form of computing their year some time after the captivity, which differed in many points from their more ancient method, and which obliged them in time to make

written for the letters of the other. And if we may make this emendation, *hasuccoth lejom haggenu*, will signify *on the day of our feast of tabernacles*; and the Psalmist will appear to recommend the observing two solemn feasts, which fell almost together in the same month; the one the month day, or, *first day of the seventh month*, on which was to be *a memorial of blowing of trumpets*, Levit. xxiii, 24; *the other the first day of the feast of tabernacles*. See ver. 34.

^r Maimonid. More Nevoch. p. iii, c. xlv.

^s Abarb. in Parasch.

many rules for the translation of days and feasts ; an account of which we may find in the writers of their antiquities^t. But the law, as Moses or Joshua left it to the observance of their fathers, or as it was observed until after David's or Solomon's time, seems to have been a stranger to all these regulations. I might perhaps say, that the Jews in following these were in many points led contrary to Moses's directions. When our Saviour was betrayed, he was apprehended on the night of the Passover, after he had eaten the Passover with his disciples^u, and carried early in the evening to the high priest's house first*, and afterwards before Pilate into the judgment hall ; for the Jews, who prosecuted, had not then eaten the Passover, and upon this account could not

^t See Godwin's Moses and Aaron, lib. iii, c. 7.

^u Matt. xvii, 17—31, &c.; Mark xiv, 12—27, &c.; Luke xxii, 7—34, &c.

* It was rather very early in the morning, about the time of cock-crowing, and shortly after (*πρωι*, or *πρωια*, about break of day) the priests and scribes assembled; and, after some investigation, brought him before Pilate and accused him. But it does not appear that they brought him before Pilate twice, as Dr. Shuckford asserts; and our LORD expired about three o'clock in the afternoon of the same day in which he was apprehended. EDIT.

go into the judgment hall. They intended our Saviour's accusation should be capital; the law had appointed, that persons defiled with the dead body of a man should be kept back and not eat the Passover until the fourteenth day of the second month^x; they judged the persons, who were to accuse our Saviour, so as to bring him unto death, would be under the restriction of this law; and therefore they left off their prosecution until they should go home and eat the Passover. On the next morning, on the day after the Passover, they assembled, and carried him again to Pilate, and took counsel against him to put him to death^y, and in this morning passed the several matters that are related to have preceded our Saviour's crucifixion; namely, Pilate's sending him to Herod^z, Pilate's wife's message to Pilate upon account of her dreams^a, Herod's remanding JESUS back again to Pilate^b, Pilate's then delivering him to the Jews to be crucified^c, upon which they immediately led him

^x Numb. ix, 10, 11.

^y Matt. xxvii, 1; Mark xv, 1; Luke xxii, 66.

^z Luke xxiii, 7.

^a Matt. xxvii, 19.

^b Luke xxiii, 11.

^c Ver. 21—24.

away and crucified him^d, and the next day was the sabbath^e; so that in this year, the Jews had at least a day between the evening of eating the Passover and the sabbath; but had they at this time proceeded according to Moses's institutions, I think the first day of unleavened bread, the day immediately following the evening of the Passover, would have been the sabbath^f.

I have now offered the reader what I have for some time apprehended, that the institutions of Moses's law hint to have been the first and most ancient method used by the Israelites for computing and regulating their year. I have much wished to find some one

^d Matt. xxvii, 27—35; Mark xv, 16—21; Luke xxiii, 26—33; John xix, 16—18.

^e Mark xv, 42; Luke xxiii, 54; John xix, 31.

^f According to the Jewish calculation of the year, after they used lunar years, the interval between the Passover and the sabbath following it, was different in different years. For instance, there was a day between in the year of our Saviour's crucifixion, the day of the Passover falling that year as on our Thursday: but it is evident, a Jewish lunar year ordinarily containing but three hundred and fifty-four days, that the Passover in the next year would fall as on a Tuesday, and consequently there would be three days between the Passover and the sabbath, &c.

learned writer directing me in this matter ; but as I cannot say I do, I hope I have expressed myself with a proper diffidence. If the reader shall think what I have offered may be admitted, a small correction must be made in what I have suggested concerning the ancient Jewish year, in my preface to my first volume. And if I shall find myself herein mistaken, I shall be hereafter better able to retract what I have thus attempted in a preface only, than if I had given it a place in the following books among the observations upon the law of Moses. I have taken no notice of a sentiment of Scaliger, which seems to be admitted by Archbishop Usher, that the ancient Israelites computed their year in twelve months of thirty days each, adding five days at the end of the twelfth month yearly, and a sixth every fourth year^s, because it is a thought for which I find no shadow of proof from any hint in Scripture, or remains of antiquity. Scaliger indeed attempts to compute the year of the Flood to have been reckoned up by Moses to contain three hundred and sixty-

^s Scaliger lib. de Emendat. Temp. p. 151 ; Usher's Chronol. Epistle to the Reader.

five days^h; but in order to give colour to his supposition, he represents that the raven and the dove, sent by Noah out of the ark, to see if the waters were abated, had been sent out at forty days' interval the one from the otherⁱ, but Moses's narration intimates nothing like it, nor will any reader allow it to be probable, that collects and duly compares the particulars related by Moses of the rise and fall of the waters, and of Noah's conduct and observations. The raven and the dove here spoken of, were undoubtedly sent out, both upon one and the same day. As to Archbishop Usher's seeming to be of opinion that the ancient Jewish year was in this manner made up of three hundred and sixty-five days, with an allowance for about a quarter of a day in every year, he had computed, and found that a number of years of the Israelites were capable of being made to answer to a like number of Julian years, and this led him to think they were, as to length, of much the same nature. I need only observe that, if the Israelites computed their years in the manner above-mentioned by me, a number of such years will not

^h Scaliger, p. 152, &c.

ⁱ Gen. viii, 7, 8.

much vary in the sum of them, from the sum of a like number of Julian.

I intended an attempt in this place to answer the objections of some writers, who would argue that Moses had not composed the books we ascribe to him, but having in many parts both of this and the former volumes obviated the difficulties, which seem to arise from some short hints and observations now interspersed in the sacred pages, which the learned are apprized had not been inserted by the authors of the books, they are now found in^k, I should in a great measure only repeat what I have already remarked, were I to refute at large what is offered upon this topic. If the reader has a mind to examine it, he may find the whole of what can be pretended on the one side in Spinoza^l, and Le Clerc's third dissertation prefixed to his comment on the Pentateuch may furnish matter for a clear and distinct answer on the other. We have indeed a hint or two upon this argument in some remains of a very great writer: "The race of the kings of Edom, it is observed, before there reigned any king in Israel, is set down

^k See book xii, p. 441, et in al. loc.

^l Tract. Theologico-polit. in part. alter. c. viii.

in the book of Genesis, and therefore that book was not written entirely in the form now extant, before the reign of Saul." The reader may find this difficulty attempted to be cleared in its proper place, I shall therefore only refer to what is already said upon it^m.

"The history [in the Pentateuch] hath been collected, we are told, from several books, such as were the history of the creation composed by Moses, Gen. ii, 4, the book of the generations of Adam, Gen. v, 1, and the book of the wars of the LORD, Numb. xxi, 14." It is something difficult to form any notion of the force of the argument here intended. St. Matthew writes, *The Book of the generation of JESUS CHRIST*ⁿ: can we hence argue, that the gospel we now have, and ascribe to him, was collected from a book of the generation of JESUS CHRIST written by him? Spinoza indeed offers the point, which may perhaps be here intimated, to this purpose. The books which Moses wrote are expressly named, and sometimes cited in the Pentateuch; consequently the Pentateuch is a different work from the

^m See vol. ii, b. vii, p. 173.

ⁿ Matt. i, 1.

books cited in it°. But the fact is this: Moses has, in some parts of his books, told us expressly, that he wrote them, and this writer would infer the direct contrary from these very intimations.

In the xxxiiid chapter of Numbers, ver. 1, 2, we have these words: *These are the journeys of the children of Israel, which went forth out of the land of Egypt, with their armies, under the hand of Moses and Aaron. And Moses wrote their goings out according to their journeys, by the commandment of the Lord. And these are their journeys according to their goings out, &c.* Let us now suppose, that these words, and what follow them to the end of the 49th verse of this chapter, were perhaps Moses's conclusion of the book he wrote upon this subject, whether he called it *Motzah*, a word answering to Exodus, or *Shemoth*, i. e. *The Book of Names*, as the Jews seem afterwards to have nominated it, or whether he really affixed no title to it. Let us suppose that it began from the first chapter of Exodus, and contained all the journeyings of the Israelites, with the historical circumstances, which led

* Tractat. Theologico-polit. in part. alter. c. viii,

to or attended them, and that it ended with the recapitulation of them mentioned in this chapter. In the xxivth chapter of Exodus, it may seem to be intimated, that Moses wrote another book called the Book of the Covenant^p. Let us now suppose, that Moses at first wrote in this book no more than what God had commanded, and the people solemnly engaged themselves to perform, at their entering into covenant with God; namely, what is mentioned in the xixth, xxth, xxiid, and xxivth chapters of Exodus. It may still be reasonably concluded, the covenant being not limited to the observance of the few commandments contained in these chapters, but obliging the Israelites to obey God's voice, to observe all the statutes and judgments which God should give them^q; that the commandments afterwards given unto Moses were also written in this book in the following order. First, The laws given in Mount Sinai, towards the end of which might be thus written, *These are the statutes, and judgments, which the LORD made between him and the children of Israel, in Mount Sinai, by the hand of Moses*^r.

^p Exodus xxiv, 4—7.

^q See Exodus xxxiv, 27.

^r Levit. xxvi, 46.

After which words, we may possibly imagine he added the laws contained in the xxviii chapter of Leviticus, and concluded with these words, *These are the commandments which the LORD commanded Moses for the children of Israel in Mount Sinai*^s. Next to these might be added the laws, which God gave out of the tabernacle of the congregation^t. And in this manner we may imagine that the book of the covenant had consisted of all the laws which God gave the Israelites both from Sinai, and from the tabernacle of the congregation. In the xxixth chapter of Deuteronomy, we are told of a *covenant, which the LORD commanded Moses to make with the children of Israel in the land of Moab; besides the covenant which he made with them in Horeb*^u. And we find these words at the end of one of his chapters: *These are the commandments and the judgments which the LORD commanded, by the hand of Moses, unto the children of Israel, in the plains of Moab, by Jordan near Jericho*^x. It will not be doubted but that Moses wrote all the words of this law also in a

^s Levit. xxvii, 34.

^u Deut. xxix, 1.

^t Chap. i, 1; Numb. i, 1.

^x Numb. xxxvi, 13.

book^y. Let us suppose that the words above cited were the conclusion of it. Let us suppose farther, that unto all these Moses added, in another book, *the words which he spake unto all Israel on this side Jordan^z in the wilderness*; and all these, together with the book of Genesis, make the Pentateuch, or five books, which we call the books of Moses.

It will here be said, that if we look for the

^y Deut. xxxi, 24.

^z Deut. i, 1. I might here answer a trifling cavil suggested concerning the Book of Deuteronomy, raised from the words here cited. It is pretended that *beneber ha Jarden*, which we translate *on this side Jordan*, do rather signify *beyond*, or *on the other side Jordan*, and consequently, that these words imply that Moses had not written the Book of Deuteronomy, for that the book so called was written by a person who had passed over Jordan, and could, according to the intimation of these words, remark, that the words of Moses were spoken on a different side the river from the place where the book was written. But were there no other, the tenth and thirteenth verses of the fiftieth chapter of Genesis are sufficient to show that the word *beneber* had the signification in which we here take it. When Joseph went up out of Egypt to bury his father, they journeyed from Goshen into Canaan, and came to the cave of Machpelah before Mamre, in their way to which they stopped at the threshing floor of Atad, *beneber ha Jarden*, not beyond, but on this side Jordan, for they did not travel into Canaan, so far as to the river Jordan.

books of Moses in the Pentateuch in this manner, we must allow that some paragraphs and even chapters do not follow now exactly in the places where Moses at first put them. But in answer to this, I apprehend, that it will not be thought a very material question, whether any of the leaves, sheets, rolls, or skins, which were written by Moses have, or have not, by some accident, been decomposed, and are not perhaps put together again, every one in its proper place; but the point is, whether in the present Pentateuch we have all, and nothing but all, that Moses wrote in the books which were penned by him. And of this a serious examinant may sufficiently satisfy himself. If we must suppose, that Moses wrote his books under such titles as I have mentioned, yet under these the whole of all the books of Moses may be collected, and perhaps some passages and sections, which now seem to be misplaced, may be hereby put into an order, that may add clearness and connection, which they may be suspected to want in their present situation. And if we collect and examine the several little notes, remarks, and observations, which, though now found in several

places of the Pentateuch^a, were undoubtedly not written by Moses, but added by some later hand; a judicious examiner will see of these, 1. That they are not so many as they are hastily thought to be. 2. That they are all inconsiderable; none of them so necessary in the places where they are found, but that, if they were omitted, the text would be full, clear, and connected without them. In this manner we may make the utmost allowance to the several objections offered against the books of Moses; and have a clear conviction, that there is no weight in any of them. That the Pentateuch contains the books of Moses, has been constantly believed and testified by the Jews in all ages. Spinoza himself confesses, that Aben Ezra only, a very modern writer, pretended to have doubts of it, and that his intimations are but dark and obscure. Josephus tells us, as a truth never questioned, that five of their sacred books were the books of Moses^b; and our Saviour explains to us in what sense they were Moses's books, being, as he tells us, Moses's writings. *Had ye believed Moses, said he, ye would have believed me, for he*

^a Vid. Clerici Dissertat. de Scriptore Pentateuch.

^b Joseph. contra Apion. lib. i, c. 8.

wrote of me; but if ye believe not his writings how shall ye believe my words^c? If it were possible to show, that the books we now read for Moses's were not the books luded to by our Saviour, something might be offered upon this subject. But whoever will attempt this, will find himself not able to propose any thing, which can require refutation.

When Moses had made an end of writing what he was to leave the Israelites, he commanded the Levites, saying, *Take this book of the law, and put it in the side of the ark^d of the covenant of the LORD your GOD, that it may be there for a witness against thee^e.* It is here queried, what the book was which Moses here gave the Levites, whether all his written works in one code or volume, or whether it was *the words of this law^f*; some one single book, which he had just then finished, a part only of his writings. Spinoza is for this latter opinion, this best suiting his purpose, to insinuate that the Levites had charge only of a small part of what Moses wrote; and consequently, that

^c John v, 46, 47.

^d See Prideaux, Connect. b. iii, part i, Account of the Ark.

^e Deut. xxxi, 26.

^f See ver. 24.

all, except what was committed to their keeping, was soon lost^g. 1. But I think, that the words *dibrei hattorah hazzaoth*, do not perhaps signify *the words of this law*^h, limited to a single book or part of Moses's writings. The particle *זאת* *zaoth* is, I think, sometimes used as pluralⁱ, and the expression above is probably of this import; *when Moses had made an end of writing the words of the law, even all these* [words or things]. The fact might be thus: Moses wrote his book thus far, to this place, and then gave the Levites the charge of them. 2. The words used by Moses to the Levites are general: he delivered to them, not *the book of this law*, not any particular part of his writings, but *this book of the law* in general^k; the particle *this* was here used, because Moses had the book then in his hand, which he delivered to them. *Seper ha Torah*^l, or *Seper Torah*^m, was the name of the whole code or volume of the sacred writings, never once given by Moses to any single part of his works, but imposed here as a general

^g In Tract. Theolog. polit. ubi sup.

^h Deut. xxxi. 24.

ⁱ See Judges xiii, 23.

^k את ספר התורה הזוה

^l 2 Kings xxii, 8.

^m Joshua xxiv, 26; 2 Chron. xxxiv, 14.

title of the book which contained the whole. The law was that part of the code for an introduction to, illustration, history, or confirmation of which, all the other parts were written, and therefore the whole might well be called *the book of the law*, the law being the principal and most important part of the code called by this title. As Moses gave the sacred volume, which he left to the Israelites, this general title, so we find it used in all after ages for the title of this book, even when not only the works of Moses, but also the Psalms and the Prophets, were contained in it. Joshua wrote his book in the book of the lawⁿ, and yet in Josiah's time the volume found in the temple, which undoubtedly contained all that Joshua had written in it, as well as Moses, was called by its general name, *the book of the law* only. In our Saviour's time the books of Scripture were of three sorts, as Josephus afterwards reckoned them^o; namely, the books of Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms^p. And our Saviour, who thus distinguishes them, when he intended to speak

ⁿ Joshua xxiv, 26.

^o Joseph. contra Apion. lib. i, c. 8.

^p Luke xxiv, 44.

of the particulars which made up the sacred code, yet in general not only calls all the books of Moses *the law*^q, but cites the book of Psalms as part of the law^r, as the Jews also did in his age^s, and St. Paul afterwards cited Isaiah in like manner^t. Moses, at delivering his writings, called the whole tome *the book of the law*, and this continued to be the general title of the whole volume of the sacred books in all ages, whatever particular books were annexed to or contained in it. As to *the book of the wars of the LORD*, we have no reason to think that any such book was written by Moses. It is, indeed, cited in a book of Moses^u, but so is the book of Jasher in that of Joshua^x: and yet the book of Jasher was a composure more modern and of far less authority than the book of Joshua. The reader may see what is offered concerning the citation of the book of Jasher in Joshua^y, and will find it reasonable perhaps to account for the citation in *Numbers* of *the book of the wars of the LORD*, in like manner. In what is above offered, the reader will see the

^q Luke xxiv, 44.

^r John xv, 25.

^s Chap. xii, 34.

^t 1 Cor. xiv, 21.

^u Numb. xxi, 14.

^x Joshua x, 13.

^y See book xii, p. 445.

greatest liberty taken by me in the suppositions I have made concerning the original divisions or titles of the books of Moses, and the dislocations or transpositions which may be conceived now to be in some chapters or paragraphs of them. I was willing to allow, for the sake of argument, the utmost that could with any show of reason be pretended; being sure, that, after all, nothing could be concluded to prove that Moses had not written what we ascribe to him. But I must not leave this topic without observing, that I cannot say, that Moses did actually divide his writings into books in the manner above supposed, or that the chapters, which we may imagine not to be now found in their proper places, were originally otherwise disposed by Moses than we now find them. Of all the books written by Moses, the book of Genesis only could be composed by him in the opportunity of great leisure^z. He must have lived in the hurry of a variety of engagements in the management of a most restless people, all the time he was writing his accounts of them; and consequently, what is contained in what we now call the

^z See vol. ii, b. ix, p. 336.

books of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, might be at first minuted down, and put together, as works generally are, which are composed and finished in such circumstances. The historical parts were registered, as the occurrences arose which were the matter of them. The laws given were recorded when, and as it pleased God to direct Moses to write them; sometimes immediately at their being given, at other times not until occasions arose, which demanded a recollection of them. Some things were repeated, added to, or explained, as circumstances required: and Moses had no time to go over and methodize anew what he had written in this manner, but put the whole together, and gave it to the Levites, still adding a few matters which were to be recorded after his ordering the Levites the charge of his books; namely, what we find from the 24th verse of the xxxist chapter of Deuteronomy to the end of the xxxiiid chapter, as Joshua afterwards added to what was left by Moses, the occurrences of the times that succeeded. In this manner, perhaps, we may fully account for all that can seem in any wise to intimate that we have not now the books of Moses in the order and form in

which he left them; and this account of his books seems to me most likely to be the true one, and consequently most reasonable to be admitted.

As to the particulars contained in the ensuing volume, I must submit them to the Reader, and I hope they may be received with that candour which has been shown to my former volumes. What is now published might have been more various and entertaining, had it reached down to an age which could have afforded more matter of profane history to be interspersed in it. But divers of the Scripture occurrences herein treated of, were not to be passed over cursorily; and the entering into these more largely obliged me to conclude this volume something short of the period at which I proposed to myself to end it. I am abundantly sensible of the obligations I am under to many of my superiors, for the reputation they give me by their favour. The truly great find a real pleasure in cherishing any well-intended endeavours of their inferiors. And if my abilities, as an author, were equal to the gratitude and inclination of my mind, I should well deserve the continuance of that good opinion which many persons, who are in

stations above my being otherwise known to them, are pleased to conceive of me themselves, and to create of me in others. But I am afraid I should appear guilty of an act of vanity rather than of gratitude, if I were to proceed in intimations of this nature, or to say, how much the Right Honourable Mr. ONSLOW, the Speaker of the House of Commons, has been a patron of my studies in this manner.

My thanks are acknowledged to be due to a learned divine of a foreign University, Mr. WOLLE, of Leipsick, and also to Mr. ARNOLD, professor of the English and French Tongues there, for my reputation in their country. I am sorry that I am not able to read the translation of my books, which one of them has, some years ago, published in the German tongue; and the very learned dissertation prefixed to that translation by the other. Hopes were at one time given me of seeing this dissertation in English, and from the short extract of it in our Republic of Letters^z, I cannot but think I should have satisfaction in every part of it, except in that which relates to my own cha-

^z Republic of Letters for September, 1731.

racter. I have not those abilities, which this learned divine ascribes to me. I may have been happy in the choice of a subject, which, if I could manage suitably, might afford a work very useful even to the learned world. I can only endeavour to go through it with as much attention as my situation in life will allow me; but am able to perform no part of it without many imperfections. My procedure in it must be by slow steps; being obliged many times to lay aside my studies on account of avocations, which in my circumstances must be attended to; and oftentimes to defer, or entirely to drop subjects, which might be considered, as I can or cannot get a sight of books which would conduct my inquiries. However, if I find my endeavours continue acceptable to the public, I shall, as soon as I can, in one volume more, offer the remaining part of this undertaking.

SHELTON, NORFOLK,

Oct. 21, 1736.

THE

SACRED AND PROFANE



HISTORY OF THE WORLD

CONNECTED.

BOOK X.

MOSES and the Israelites joined in a song of thanksgiving for their deliverance from the Egyptians¹; after which they moved from the Red Sea into the wilderness of Shur², where they wandered three days and could find no water³. At Marah they found water, but could not drink it because it was bitter⁴; *And the people murmured against Moses, saying, What shall we drink? And he cried unto the LORD, and the LORD showed him a tree, which when he had cast into the waters, the waters were made sweet*⁵. We are informed⁶, that God

¹ Exodus xv.

² Ver. 22.

³ Syncell. Chron. p. 123; Philo de Vitâ Mosis, lib. i; Joseph. Antiq. lib. iii, c. 1.

⁴ Exodus xv, 23.

⁵ Ver. 25.

⁶ Ver. 26.

at this time gave Moses some particular command, and proved him, or made trial of his obedience; for this must be the sense of the place. Our English translators have evidently mistaken the words of Moses: they render the passage, *There he made for THEM a statute and an ordinance, and there he proved THEM.* This translation seems to hint, that some laws were here given to the Israelites, and that they were the persons here proved; but the commentators are at a loss to ascertain any laws given at this time⁷. If we attend to the Hebrew text, the affix used by Moses does not signify THEM, but HIM; and Moses himself was the person here applied to, and not the Israelites, and the statute and ordinance here given was to him, not to them. This agrees with the 26th verse, where the text is justly translated, not, *If ye will hearken*; but, *If THOU wilt diligently hearken, &c.* When the Israelites were got over the Red Sea, we do not read that the pillar of the cloud and of fire went before them into the wilderness of Shur. Moses very probably led them thither, without any special direction from GOD; they travelled here three days without water, and when they found water it was bitter, and they could not drink it. In their distress they murmured, and Moses prayed to GOD for assistance: GOD accepted his prayer, and gave him (*chok ve Mishpat*), a special order and appointment what to do; namely, to take a bough from a tree

⁷ See Pool's Synops. in locum.

to which he was directed, and to put it into the waters, and by this he proved or tried him⁸. He gave him an opportunity to show his readiness strictly to perform whatever orders should be enjoined him; and hereupon God promised him, that if he would thus punctually observe all his appointments, that then he would continually extricate him out of every difficulty.

We read of no place called Marah in the profane authors; for indeed the Israelites gave the place this name, because the waters they found here were bitter, the word Marah in their language signifying *to be bitter*; but the best heathen writers agree, that there were lakes of bitter waters in those parts where the Israelites were now travelling. Diodorus informs us, that there were such waters at some little distance from the city Arsinoe⁹. Strabo says the same thing¹; and Pliny carries on Trajan's river from the Nile to the bitter fountains². Now

⁸ We meet many instances in the Scriptures, of God's appointing persons applying to him for favours, to do some act as a proof of their entire submission and obedience to him. Jacob was ordered to use peeled rods, Gen. xxx. Naaman to wash in the river Jordan, 2 Kings v. And in Exodus xvi, the Israelites were proved in this manner. They were ordered to gather of the manna a certain rate every day, that God might prove them, whether they would walk in his law or not. Thus was Moses here proved, he was ordered to put a bough into the water; a thing in itself insignificant, but his doing it testified his readiness to observe any injunction which God should think fit to give him.

⁹ Diod. Sic. lib. iii, p. 120.

¹ Strabo, Geog. lib. xvii, p. 804.

² Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vi, c. 29.

these bitter fountains, and the bitter lakes mentioned by Strabo and Diodorus, and the bitter waters which the Israelites found at Marah, may easily be conceived to be the same. The city Arsinoe, agreeably to both Strabo's and² Diodorus's position of it, was situate near the place of the present Suez; and not far from the neighbourhood of this place reached Trajan's river, which was carried on to the bitter lakes, whither the Israelites may be conceived to have wandered. They went from the Red Sea into the wilderness of Shur, through which they could not pass towards Canaan, for want of water; then they turned about towards Egypt, where they hoped to find plenty, and came to Marah upon the coast of Suez.

Josephus gives a very idle account of the change of the taste of the waters of Marah³. He supposes that the country they were now in afforded no water naturally; that the Israelites sunk wells, but could not find springs to supply enough for their occasions, and that what they did find was so bitter, that they could not drink it; that they sent out every way to search, but could hear of no water; that there was indeed a well at Marah, which afforded some water, but not a quantity sufficient for them; and that what it supplied them with was so bitter, that even their cattle could not drink it; that upon the Israelites uneasiness with Moses, he prayed to God, and took his rod, and

² Diodor. & Strabo ubi sup.

³ Josephus Antiq. lib. iii, c. 1.

split it down in the middle, and persuaded the people that God had heard his prayers, and would make the water fit for them to drink, if they would do as he should order them. Upon their asking what he would have them do, he directed them to draw out of the well, and pour away the greatest part of the water; the doing this, he says, stirring and dashing about the waters by the buckets they drew with, purged, and by degrees made them potable. But, 1. This account of Josephus differs from what the profane writers, as well as Moses, relate concerning the country where the Israelites now were. Josephus represents it as a place where no water was to be had; but, according to Moses, the people were in extremity at Marah, not for want of water, but of good water. To this Strabo agrees, who supposes water enough in this place, many large lakes and fosses⁴, though he tells us they were in ancient days bitter, until by a communication⁵ of the river, the late inhabitants of the country found out the way to meliorate their taste. 2. Had the Israelites found a well, as Josephus supposes, if the supply of water it afforded was too scanty for their occasions, what relief would it have been to them to draw off and throw away the greatest part of their defective supply, in order

⁴ Διωρυγες πλειεις και λιμναι πλησιαζουσαι αυταις. Strabo, lib. xvii, p. 804.

⁵ Των πικρων καθαμενων λιμνων, αι προτερον μεν ησαν πικραι, τμηθεισης δε της διωρυγος μετεβαλλοντο τη κρασει το ποταμο. Id. ibid.

to sweeten a small remainder? Or, 3. How could the dashing water about at the bottom of a well sufficiently purify it from its mineral taste; which most probably was given it from the very earth, against which they must thus dash it? But it is needless to refute at large this fancy of Josephus.

The writer of the Book of Ecclesiasticus hints a different reason for the cure of those bitter waters; who suggests, that the wood, which Moses was directed to use, had naturally a medicinal virtue to correct the taste of the waters at Marah. *Was not*, says he, *the water made sweet with wood, that the virtue thereof might be known*⁶? But I cannot think, that the opinion of this writer can be admitted: for, 1. It does not seem probable, that Moses here used a whole and large tree; rather he took a little bough, such as he himself put into the water, and immediately the taste of the waters changed. 2. If it could be thought, that Moses employed the people to take down a very large tree, and convey it into the water, can we suppose, that even the largest tree, steeped in a lake, should immediately communicate a sufficient quantity of its natural sweetness, to correct the taste of water, enough for the occasions of so many hundred thousands of people? But, 3. We have great reason to think, that there was no tree in these parts of this virtue. Had there been such a one, after the virtue of it was thus known, especially

⁶ Eccclus. xxxviii, 5.

Moses having recorded this his use of it, it would certainly have been much used by others, and as much inquired after by the naturalists. But though Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, and Pliny have all remarked, that there were bitter waters in these parts of the world, yet they knew of no trees of a medicinal quality to correct their taste. Pliny tells us of a method afterwards invented to meliorate the taste of such waters⁷; but though he has treated largely of the powers and virtues of trees and plants⁸, and particularly the trees in these parts of the world⁹, yet he never heard of any of this sort, and therefore undoubtedly there were not any. The author of Ecclesiasticus was a very learned man, and had given himself much to reading the writings of his fathers; and had carefully collected their sentiments, to which he added some observations of his own¹; and this seems to have been his own. Had it been a received opinion of the Jewish writers, I think Josephus would have had it; or had there really been a tree of this nature, the heathen naturalists would have observed it. But from their entire silence, I imagine that the author of Ecclesiasticus, speculating in the chapter where we find this hint, upon the medicines which God had created out of the earth², suggested this

⁷ Nitrosæ aut amaræ aquæ polentâ additâ mitigantur, ut intra duas horas bibi possint. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxiv, c. 1.

⁸ Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxiv, per tot. lib.

Ibid. c. 12.

¹ Prologue to Eccclus.

² Eccclus. xxxviii, 4.

hint purely from his own fancy, without any authority for it. The Book of Ecclesiasticus is but a modern composition, in comparison of Moses's writings, being first published in Egypt about one hundred and thirty-two years before CHRIST³; and being published in Egypt was much read by the Jews of Alexandria. Accordingly Philo, who lived there about our Saviour's time, was acquainted with the opinion of this author; but he very justly doubts the truth of it, and queries whether the wood here used had naturally, or whether God was not pleased to give it its virtue for this particular occasion⁴.

From Marah the Israelites removed to a place, where they found twelve fountains of water, and threescore and ten palm trees. A place not unlike this is described by Strabo⁵, which the Israelites called Elim. From hence, after some days rest, they marched first to the Red Sea⁶; perhaps to the very place where they came over out of Egypt, and from thence they went into the wilderness of *Sin*, on the *fifteenth day of the second month, after their departing out of the land of Egypt*⁷, i. e. exactly a month after their leaving Egypt; for they left Egypt soon after midnight of the fourteenth

³ Prideaux, Connect. part ii, b. i, vol. iii, p. 62.

⁴ Philo de vitâ Mosis, lib. i.

⁵ Φοινικῶνα εἶναι ἐνυδρον, τιμασθῆναι τε κομιδῇ, διὰ το πᾶσαν τὴν κυκλῶ καυματηραν τε; καὶ ἀνυδρον, καὶ ἀσκιον ὑπαρχειν. Strabo. Geog. lib. xvi, p. 776.

⁶ Numb. xxxiii, 10.

Exod. xvi, 1.

day of the first month⁸. The wilderness of Sin was a barren desert, not capable to supply them with provision; which as soon as they felt the want of, they were ready to mutiny, and most passionately wished themselves in Egypt again⁹. But GOD was here pleased miraculously to relieve them, by great flights of quails, a sort of birds very common upon the coasts of the Arabian, or Red Sea¹; and besides sending these, *he rained them bread from Heaven*. Every morning, when the dew was off, *there lay a small round thing, as small as the hoar frost upon the ground*²; which was like coriander seed, of a white colour, and the taste of it was like wafers made with honey³. When the

⁸ Exod. xii.

⁹ Ibid. xvi, 3.

¹ Joseph. Antiq. lib. iii, c. i, sect. 5; Athenæus Deipnos. lib. ix, c. xi.

² Exod. xvi, 13, 14.

³ The Hebrew writers have had various conceits about the taste of manna; some of them perhaps deduced from some expressions in the Book of Wisdom. That Apocryphal author says of the manna, that it was able to content every man's delight, agreeing to every taste, and that serving to the appetite of the eater, it tempered itself to every man's liking. Wisdom xvi. 20, 21. Lyra, from the Rabbins, represents, that it had the taste of any sort of fish or fowl, according to the wish of him who ate it: but then with St. Augustine he restrains the privilege of finding in the manna the taste of what they most loved, to the righteous only. The authors of Talmud Joma, and Lib. Zohar say, the manna had all sorts of tastes, except the tastes of the plants and sallads which grew in Egypt; but there is no end of pursuing or refuting the fancies of these writers. Moses says of the manna here in Exodus, that its *taste was like wafers made with honey*. In Numbers xi. 8, he says, the cakes made of it had the *taste of fresh oil*; so that we may conjecture, that it had a sweetness when gathered, which

Israelites saw it, they knew not what it was, and therefore asked one another *מַה הִוא* *man hua*; for they are two Hebrew words, and signify *what is this?* *Man* signifies *what*, and *hua* *this*: and not knowing what name to give it, they called it *man*, or *what*, i. e. *is it*, ever after⁴.

The Israelites were ordered, every head of a family, to gather as many omers⁵ of this manna every morning as he had persons in his family⁶; but as they went out to gather without taking measures with them, it so happened, that some gathered more than their quantity, and some less. However, they carried their gatherings home; for they measured what they had gathered with an omer; and he that had gathered more than his quantity gave to him that had less, so that every one had his just quantity made up, and no more.

evaporated in the grinding, beating, and baking. It tasted like honey when taken off the ground, but the cakes made of it, were as cakes of bread, kneaded with oil. The Israelites used it as a sort of bread, they had the quails instead of flesh, Exodus xvi. 12; Numb. xi. The manna is represented to have had no high taste, Numb. xi. 6, and we have not any hint from Moses of its being so variously delightful to the palate, as the author of the Book of Wisdom seems to suggest.

⁴ Our English word, *manna*, Exod. xvi. 15, seems to intimate, that the Israelites put the two words *man hua* together, as the name of this food; but they used but one of them; for they called it *man* and not *man hua*. See Exod. xvi, 15, 31, 35; Numb. xi, 6, 7, 9; Deut. viii, 3, 16; Joshua v, 12; Nehem. ix, 20; Psalm lxxviii, 24, &c.

⁵ An omer is the tenth part of an ephah, probably about three pints and a half of our measure.

⁶ Exodus xvi, 16.

The words of the 18th verse, as our English version renders them, seem to imply, that GOD was here pleased miraculously to adjust the several quantities which were gathered. We translate the place, *The children of Israel gathered some more, some less, and when they did mete it with an omer, he that gathered much had nothing over, and he that gathered little had no lack.* These words may seem to hint, that GOD was pleased miraculously so to order it, that when they came to measure, the store of him that had gathered too much was diminished to the exact number of omers which he was to have; and the defective quantity of him, that had not gathered his due quantity, was miraculously increased to the just measure of what he was to have gathered; so that *he that had gathered much had nothing over, and he that had gathered little had no lack*, the divine Providence causing the quantity, which every one had gathered, to answer exactly to the appointed measure. Josephus, I think, took this to be the fact⁷. But, 1, to what purpose could it be for GOD to command the people to gather an omer for each person; if he designed miraculously so to order it, that let them gather what they would, they should find their gatherings amount to an exact omer, neither more nor less? 2. The words of Moses, if rightly translated, express the fact to have been very different from this representation of it. The

⁷ Josephus Antiq. lib. iii, c. i, sect. 6.

word, which we translate *had nothing over*, should be rendered⁸, *he made to have nothing over*; and in like manner the word translated *had no lack*, should be rendered *he caused to have no lack*. Now Moses was the person who thus ordered it, and the 17th, 18th, and 19th, verses should be word for word thus translated.

Ver. 17. *And the children of Israel did so, and gathered some more, some less.*

Ver. 18. *And they measured with an omer, and Moses⁹ caused him that had more, not to abound, and him that had less, not to fall short; (for they gathered, each one according to¹ his eating.)*

Ver. 19. *And said, Let no man leave of it till the morning.*

So that the fact here was, that Moses directed them to give to one another; they that had more

This is the true sense of the Hebrew verbs in the conjugation they are here used in. עָרַף in the conjugation *kal*, signifies *to abound*, or *to have over*, but הֶעָרַף in *hiphil* is *to cause to abound*: thus, חָסַר in *kal* signifies, *to fall short*, or *to want*, but הִחְסִיר in *hiphil* is *to diminish*, or, *to cause to want*. See Isaiah xxxii, 6.

⁹ In the Hebrew text, Moses, the nominative case to three verbs, is put after the last, a construction very common in the ancient languages.

¹ The words, *they gathered each one according to his eating*, are a remark by way of parenthesis, to give a reason for what Moses directed. He caused them that had over much, to give to them that had less than they were to have, because they gathered, as we say, from hand to mouth, and it would have been of no service to have laid up what they had to spare.

than their measure, to make up what was wanting to them who had less; that all might have their full quantity, and no more. 3. St. Paul very plainly intimates that this was the fact, by alluding to what the Israelites here did with their manna; in order to induce the Corinthians to contribute a relief to the poorer Christians, such as the Corinthians could at that time well spare out of their abundance. *I mean not, says he, that other men be eased and you burthened; but by an equality, that now at this time your abundance may be a supply for their want, that their abundance also may be a supply for your want, that there may be an equality; as it is written, He that had gathered much had nothing over, and he that had gathered little had no lack*².

Another order given to the Israelites about the manna was, that they were every day to eat what they had gathered, and to leave none all night for the next day's provision³. Some of the people were not strictly careful in this point, but left some of their manna until the morning, *which bred worms and stank*⁴. Every sixth day, they were to gather twice as much as on any other days, because the seventh day was the sabbath; on which day they were to gather no manna, nor do any sort of work⁵. Accordingly on the seventh day there fell no manna, for there went out some of the people

² 2 Corinth. viii, 13, 14, 15.

⁴ Ver. 20.

³ Exod. xvi, 19.

⁵ Ver. 23.

to gather, but they found none⁶; and what remained of the double quantity, which the people gathered on the sixth day, and reserved for the seventh, did not stink, neither was there any worm therein; though if any part of any other day's gathering was not eaten on the day when it was gathered, it would not keep, nor be fit to be eaten on the day following⁷. Thus miraculously did God feed the people in the wilderness for about forty years; for they had this supply of manna, until they came unto the borders of the land of Canaan⁸. Aaron, directed by Moses, in obedience to God's express command, put an omer of manna into a pot; in order to keep it in memory of the wonderful supply of food, which God had thus given them.

From the wilderness of Sin, Moses led the Israelites to Rephidim, making two short halts by the way, which are not mentioned here in Exodus; one of them was at Dophkah, the other at Alush⁹. From their encampment in the wilderness of Sin to Rephidim might be, I imagine, about twenty miles. At Rephidim they were distressed for want of

⁶ Exod. xvi, 27.

⁷ Ver. 24.

⁸ Exod. xvi, 35; Joshua v, 12.

⁹ I may here hint once for all, that these, and the other names we have of the several places where the Israelites made their encampments in the wilderness, are generally names given by them to the places where they stopt, and that the places were not called by any particular names, except by the Israelites upon account of their encamping at them.

water; and murmured against Moses, for bringing them into extremity. Moses cried unto the LORD, and received directions to smite a rock at mount Horeb with the rod, which he had used in performing the wonders wrought in Egypt; and upon his doing this in the sight of the elders of Israel, God was pleased to cause a river of water miraculously to flow out of the rock, to supply their necessities¹.

The most learned archbishop Usher remarks, that the rock, out of which Moses thus miraculously produced the water, followed the Israelites throughout the wilderness². Tertullian is said to have been of this opinion³; and the Jewish rabbins were fond of it. The most learned primate says expressly, that the rock, which Moses smote, followed them; but some other writers soften the prodigy, and assert, that the water from the rock became a river, and was made to flow after the camp, wherever the Israelites journeyed, until they came to Kadesh. The reasons given for this opinion are, 1. It is remarked, that from the time of this flow of waters from the rock at Horeb, until they came to Kadesh, the Israelites are not said to have ever wanted water⁴; and it is argued, that they must continually have wanted it in their passage through the wilderness, if God had not thus miraculously supplied them. 2. Some passages in the Psalms are thought to imply, that a river from the rock

¹ Exod xvii, 5, 6.

² Usher's Annals.

³ Hæc est aqua, quæ de comite petrâ populo defluebat. Tertullian. de Baptismo.

⁴ Numb. xx.

attended them in their journeyings. 3. It is hinted, that a text in Deuteronomy confirms this opinion; and lastly, it is pretended, that St. Paul says expressly, that the rock followed them.

1. “ It is said, that the Israelites never wanted water, after this supply from the rock at Horeb, until they came to Kadesh; though the wilderness they travelled through was so dry a place, that they could not have found water in it, without some continual miracle.” To this I answer, 1. We are nowhere told in Scripture, that God wrought this particular miracle upon the rock, in order to continue a supply of water for the Israelites, during the whole time of their journeying in the wilderness; and, if a miracle was really necessary, why this rather than some other? The Israelites knew how to dig wells when they wanted water; and it is probable that they dug many in their passage through the wilderness, as we read they dug one at Beer⁵: and it is reasonable to suppose that God might frequently *give them water*⁶, by causing them, when they dug for it, to find *water-springs in a dry ground*⁷; than to suppose that a mountainous rock moved after them in their journeyings, or that any streams from it became a river, and was made to form itself a channel to flow to them in all their movements. 2. But though the wilderness was indeed a dry place, and may in general terms be called *a dry and thirsty land, where no water is*⁸;

⁵ Numb. xxi, 16.

⁷ Psalm cvii, 35.

⁶ See ver. 18.

⁸ Psalm lxiii, 1.

though the Israelites complained of it as such⁹, and the heathen writers give it this character¹; yet we must not take their expressions so strictly, as to imagine that no water was to be found in any parts of it. Strabo speaks of fesses of water in the driest deserts²; and from Diodorus we may collect, that in the most unpromising parts of this country there were proper places to sink wells, which would afford abundance of water³. The Israelites might be reduced to difficulties in many places, but unquestionably in others they found receptacles of water of divers sorts⁴; so that the true reason why we read of no miraculous supply of water, from the time of their leaving Horeb until they came to Kadesh, may be their not necessarily wanting such a supply in that interval. But,

II. It is represented, that from Psalms lxxviii, 16—20, cv, 41, it may be justly inferred, that rivers of water flowed from the rock after the Israelites, in their several marches. I answer: The expressions cited from the Psalmist prove only, that the rock smote by Moses poured forth a large quantity of water. *God brought streams out*

⁹ Numbers xxi, 5.

¹ Ερημος και ανυδρος εστι. Diodor. Sic. lib. ii, c. 54; vid. Strab. Geog. lib. xvi.

² Διαμμος γη και λυπρα φοινικας εχουσα ολιγως—και ορυκτα υδατα. Strab. Geog. lib. xvi.

³ Κατα γαρ την ανυδρον χωραν λεγομενην καλασκευαζοντες συκαιρα φρεατα—χρωνται θαψιλεσι ποτοις. Diodor. lib. ii. c. 48.

⁴ Πολλαχθ συσαδες των ομβριων υδατων.

of the rock, and caused waters to run down like rivers. He opened the rock, and the waters gushed out ; they ran in the dry places like a river. Philo the Jew relates, that, upon Moses striking the rock, the water poured out like a torrent, affording them not only a sufficient quantity for the allaying their present thirst, but to fill their water vessels; in order to carry away water with them, when they marched forwards⁵. A very considerable supply must be wanted by so large a multitude, and the words of the Psalmist well describe such a supply; but they do in no wise intimate, that rivers from the rock followed them, when they left the place where the supply was given. But,

III. Moses, Deut. ix, 21, mentions a river, or brook, which descended out of the mount, and flowed near the camp, after the Israelites were departed from Rephidim, and were encamped at mount Sinai⁶. Now if this brook was a river, which flowed from mount Horeb, it could be none other than that which was caused by Moses striking the rock; for before that miracle there was no water; and if it came from hence, it seems evident, that the stream of this water flowed near the camp, after they had left Rephidim, the place where the supply was first given. But a few observations

⁵ Παιει πετραν, η δε κρηνηδον εκχειται, ως μη τότε μονον παρασχειν ακος διψης, αλλα και προς πλειω χρονον τοσαυταις μυριασιν αφθονιαν ποτε· τα γαρ υδρεια παντα επληρωσαν, ως και προτερον απο των πηγων, αι πικραι μεν ησαν φυσει, μετεβαλοντο δε επιφροσυνη θεια προς το γλυκιον. Philo de Vit. Mosis, l. i.

⁶ Exodus xix, 2.

will set this fact in a clear light: and, 1. I think it evident, that no supply of water was given to the Israelites from any rock at Rephidim. The direction to Moses, when he cried unto the LORD, was to take the elders of Israel with him, and to go from Rephidim, the place where the Israelites were encamped, unto Horeb, and there to smite a rock, in order to obtain water⁷; so that the supply of water was not obtained at Rephidim, where the Israelites were encamped, but at a place some distance from Rephidim, whither not the people but the elders of Israel accompanied Moses, and where what he did was done, not in the sight of the congregation, but in the sight of the elders of Israel⁸.

2. Horeb and Sinai were near and contiguous to one another, being only different cliffs of one and the same mountain, which appears evident from several passages in the books of Moses. When GOD delivered the commandments in an audible voice from mount Sinai⁹, he is said to speak unto them in Horeb¹. And when the people stood before the LORD their GOD, under the mountain, and the mountain burned with fire², which mountain was unquestionably mount Sinai³, they stood before the LORD in Horeb⁴. And in the day of their assembly, when they desired not to hear the voice of the LORD any more⁵, which petition was

⁷ Exodus xvii, 5, 6.

⁸ Ibid. xx.

⁹ Chap. iv. 10, 11.

¹ Deut, iv, 10.

⁸ Ibid.

¹ Deut. i, 19.

³ Exodus xix, 18.

⁵ Chap. xviii, 16.

made when they were assembled at mount Sinai⁶, they are said to be at Horeb⁷. From these and many other passages, which might be cited, it appears, either according to St. Jerome, that Horeb and Sinai were but two names for one and the same mount⁸; or rather they were two mountains so contiguous, that whilst the people lay encamped at the foot of them, they might be said to be at either. Therefore, 3. The water which Moses obtained from the rock at Horeb, might supply the camp all the time the Israelites were at Sinai, without the rock's moving from its place; for they were encamped very near the rock from whence this supply of water was given, all the time they were at Sinai. 4. We need not suppose, that the water, which GOD was pleased to give at Horeb, ceased to flow, as soon as the Israelites were relieved by it. It is more reasonable to imagine, that GOD directed Moses to strike a place where there was naturally a spring, though, until the rock was opened, the water was bound down to subterraneous passages; but after it had taken vent, it might become a fountain, and continue to flow, not only whilst the Israelites continued in these parts, but to future ages. It might cause the brook, which descended out of the mount, and supplied them with water all the time they lay encamped here, and the brook caused by it may, perhaps, run to this

⁶ Exodus xx, 19.

⁷ Deut. xviii, 16.

⁸ *Mihi autem videtur, quòd duplici nomine idem mons, nunc Sina, nunc Choreb vocetur. Hieron. de locis Heb.*

day⁹. But, though this may be true, yet it will not hence follow, that the streams of this brook flowed after the camp, when they departed from Horeb, and took their journies out of the wilderness of Sinai into the wilderness of Paran.

But, IV. The chief argument, for supposing that the rock followed the Israelites in their journeys through the wilderness, is taken from the words of St. Paul, 1 Cor. x, 4, who says, *Our fathers did all drink the same spiritual drink (for they drank of that spiritual Rock, which followed them, and that Rock was CHRIST)*. But I think it is very evident, that the apostle here speaks not of the rock of Horeb, but of CHRIST, who, though invisible, was the spiritual support of the Israelites in the wilderness. In ver. 3, he alludes to the manna which was given them; but then treats of the spiritual meat which sustained them, designing to turn the thoughts of the Corinthians from the manna to GOD, who gave the manna and made it a sufficient nourishment to his people: *Man liveth not by bread alone*¹. The manna of itself had been but a very slender provision; but, by the direction

⁹ We find from the accounts of modern travellers, that there runs now a brook from mount Horeb, which supplies water to the monastery called St. Saviour's, being a Greek convent situate at the foot of the mountain. Chorebus, says Belonius, lib. ii, c. 63, commodissimo fonte instructus est; and in c. 62, speaking of the convent, he says, Monasterium aquâ abundat: rivus enim ex monte defluens monachorum cisternam replet aquâ limpidâ, frigidâ, dulci, denique optimâ, &c.

¹ Matt. iv, 4; Deut. viii, 3.

of GOD, the morning dew would have been an abundant supply ; or he could, if he had pleased, as well have sustained them the whole forty years without any food at all, as he did Moses in the mount forty days and forty nights, without eating bread or drinking water. We must not therefore look at the manna, as if that were sufficient to² nourish the people ; but consider the power of GOD, who was their spiritual meat, and invisibly supported them. In the same manner we must consider the supply they had of drink. The rock at Horeb, struck by the rod of Moses, sent forth waters ; but the benefit was not owing to the rock, but to CHRIST, who was the spiritual and invisible rock of his people ; who by his power gave them this supply, and whose presence was with them, not only at this time, but in all their journeyings. The meaning of St. Paul is very plain and easy ; and we evidently play with the letter, instead of attending to the design of his words, if we infer from them, that the rock at Horeb, or any water from it, followed the Israelites through the wilderness. Upon the whole, if we had any authority from Scripture to say, that the rock at Horeb followed the camp, or that the waters from Horeb flowed after the Israelites, we should have no reason to question the fact. The power of GOD could have caused either ; but neither Moses nor any other sacred writer says any thing

* Deut. viii, 3 ; xxix, 6.

like it, nor was any such fact known to either Philo or Josephus ; so that I think it a mere fiction' of the Rabbins, and that it ought to be rejected. A due application will enable every sober querist to vindicate the miracles recorded in Scripture ; but it is an idle labour, and will prove of disservice to religion, to add miracles of our own making to those which the Scriptures set before us.

Whilst the Israelites were at Rephidim, the Amalekites, near whose country they then encamped⁴, attacked them⁵, whereupon Moses ordered Joshua to choose out a number of the ablest men to sustain the assault, and he himself went up the hill with his rod in his hand, and Aaron and Hur with him⁶. The battle had many turns : whilst Moses held up his hands the Israelites had the better ; but whenever he let his hand fall, the Amalekites prevailed⁷. Upon observing this event, Aaron and Hur, Moses being quite tired, caused him to sit down upon a stone, and supported his

³ The Rabbins were fruitful inventors of this sort of miracles. Jonathan B. Uziel says of the well, which the Israelites dug at Beer, that Abraham and Isaac and Jacob first dug it ; but that Moses and Aaron drew it after them into the wilderness by the rod, and that it followed them up high hills, and down into low vallies, and went round about the camp of the Israelites, and gave every one drink at his tent-door, and that it followed them until they came to the borders of the land of Moab, but that they lost it upon the top of a hill over against Beth-Jeshimon. See Targum Jonathan on Numbers xxxi.

⁴ The country of the Amalekites lay next to Seir. Gen. xiv, 7.

⁵ See Deut. xxv, 18.

⁶ Exod. xvii, 9, 10.

⁷ Ver. 11.

hands all the remainder of the day until the evening; and upon this Joshua obtained a complete victory over the Amalekites⁸. Then the LORD ordered Moses to leave it upon record, and to remind Joshua that it was his design utterly to extirpate the Amalekites⁹; which purpose of God was revealed to Balaam¹; and Moses, according to the directions given him to write it in a book², took care to record it in his book of Deuteronomy, in the most express terms³. And because God had vouchsafed the Israelites this victory upon the holding up his hands, he, in order to give God the glory, and not to take the honour to himself, built an altar in memory of it, and called it *Jehovah Nissi*, or *the LORD is he who exalteth me*⁴; and he declared to the Israelites, that for this base attempt against them, the LORD would war against the Amalekites from generation to generation⁵.

This certainly must be the meaning of the 16th verse of the xviith chapter of Exodus: the Hebrew words are difficult to be translated, and I think none of the versions express clearly the sense of them. We render the place, *For he said, Because the LORD hath sworn, that the LORD will have war with Amalek, &c.* The vulgar Latin translation runs thus, *Quia manus solii Domini, et bellum Domini, erit contra Amalek: i. e. Because the hand*

⁸ Exod. xvii, 11, 12, 13.

¹ Numb. xxiv, 20.

² Deut. xxxv, 17, 18, 19.

³ Ver. 16; Deut. xxv, 17, 18, 19.

⁹ Ver. 14.

² Exod. xvii, 14.

⁴ Exod. xvii, 15.

*of the throne of the LORD, and the war of the LORD will be against Amalek*⁶. This version rather shows that the translators were at a loss how to render the place intelligibly, than expresses the true meaning of it. The LXX say, *οτι εν χειρι κρυφαια πολεμη ο Θεος επι Αμαληκ* i. e. *That the LORD fights [with a hidden hand] i. e. secretly against Amalek*. The sense here is clear and plain; but there are no words in the Hebrew text to answer to *εν χειρι κρυφαια, with a hidden hand*⁷. The Hebrew words are, *Ci yad nal Ces Jah Milcamah Lahovah ba Namalek*; which verbally translated are, *Because the hand upon the throne of the LORD, war to the LORD against Amalek*⁸. The place has evidently the following difficulties,

⁶ Ecce manus super sedem, bellum Domini cum Amalek, &c. Vers. Syriac. Nunc est mihi quod jurem per solium, quod erit Deo bellum in Amalekitas. Vers. Arabic. Cum juramento dictum est hoc á facie terribilis, cujus Majestas est super solium gloriæ, fore, ut committatur prælium a facie Domini contra viros domus Amalech. Targum Onkelos.

⁷ It has been suggested to me by a very learned friend, that the two words כס יד, which in the present Hebrew text stand next to one another, might perhaps be taken by the LXX to have been originally but one word, כסידה, and they might derive such a word from כסה *casah*, to cover, and imagine that על כסידה might be rendered *in secret*, or *covertly*: but if this may be a just correction and translation of the text, the LXX should have rendered the verse to this purpose, rather than as they have translated it. *Because his (i. e. Amalek's) hand has been covertly against you, the LORD will have war with Amalek, &c.*

⁸ The Hebrew words are,

כי יד על כס יד מלחמה ליהוה בעמלק
Amalek contra Jehovah bellum Domini thronum supra manus quia.

1. There must be some words understood to fill up the sentence. *The hand upon the throne of the LORD war against Amalek*, must be supposed to be the same as, *the hand of the LORD is upon his throne*, that there shall be *war against Amalek*. The sentence must be thus transposed and filled up to make it bear any sense. 2. In order to its bearing the sense, which our English version puts upon it, *The hand of the LORD is upon his throne*, must be supposed to signify, *GOD has sworn*, his laying his hand upon his throne must import his taking an oath. But, 3. In all the Old Testament, though the expression of *GOD's having sworn* occurs almost thirty times, yet it is not, I think, once expressed in words like what we here meet with, but always by the verb (שבע) *shaban*. The *LORD hath sworn* is (נשבע יְהוָה) *Nishban Jehovah*⁹. The annotators are at a loss to ascertain the sense of the place; and certainly the Hebrew words, as our present copies run, are very hard to be reconciled to any sense whatsoever, unless we admit a very unusual expression for *GOD hath sworn*, which is not to be met with in any other place of Scripture. As to the LXX, they might perhaps think the place corrupted by transcribers; and by putting in *εν χειρι κρυφαια*, instead of rendering the Hebrew words, they rather guessed what might make the passage good sense, than had authority for their translation. If I may be indulged the

⁹ Gen. xxii, 16; Judges ii, 16; 1 Sam. iii, 14; 2 Sam. ii, 9; Psalm cx, 4; Isaiah xiv, 24, lxii, 3; Amos iv, 2, &c.

liberty, I could suggest what would give the place a clear meaning, without varying much from the present Hebrew text. The reason given in Deuteronomy why Amalek should be utterly destroyed is, because he here attacked the Israelites. The words of Moses are, *Remember what Amalek did unto thee by the way—how he met thee, and smote the hindmost of thee, &c. Therefore it shall be, when the LORD thy GOD hath given thee rest—that thou shalt blot out the remembrance of Amalek from under Heaven: thou shalt not forget it*¹. This was the reason why GOD determined to have war with Amalek; because he here basely assaulted the Israelites. Now let us suppose the true reading of the passage before us should be thus: *Ci Jad nal Cem, jehi Milchemah Lahovah be Namalek*², which translated word for word is, *Because his hand hath been against you, the LORD will have war with Amalek, &c.* The emendation of the text is very little: כם might be easily written כח, the let-

¹ Deut. xxv, 17, 18, 19.

² כי יד על כח יחי מלחמה ליהוה בעמלק

Amalek contra Jehovah bellum erit vos contra manus quia
i. e.
ejus

לכם is vobis, Exodus xvi, 23. In like manner על signifying *contra*, עיכם may be *contra vos*, or perhaps it was written עליכם more agreeably to the Hebrew regimen. It may perhaps be here remarked, that *Milchemah* is a noun feminine, that I put the verb *Jehi* in the masculine termination, contrary to true syntax. But to this I think I may answer, that the Hebrew language is not always critically exact in this particular. Vid. Capell. Crit. Sac. lib. iii, c. 16; & lib. vi, c. 8.

ters are so similar that the difference is scarcely perceptible; ה might be written for יה; for the final ם might easily be omitted by no very careless transcriber. And this very small emendation will restore the text to admit an easy and clear meaning, and supposes Moses to hint here the very thing which he expressed afterwards more copiously, when he came to write what he was directed to transmit to posterity upon this occasion³.

Soon after this victory over the Amalekites, Jethro the priest of Midian, Moses's father-in-law, came with Zipporah his daughter, the wife of Moses, and her two children, Gershom and Eliezer, into the wilderness to the camp at mount Horeb⁴. Moses received him with the utmost respect, and told him all the wonderful works which had

³ Deut. xxv, 17, 18, 19.

⁴ Exodus xviii. I find some writers imagine, that Jethro's coming to Moses was not thus early. F. Simon says, that Jethro seems not to have come till the second year after the finishing of the tabernacle, as may be proved out of Deuteronomy. The learned father has not cited any passage in Deuteronomy to support his opinion; and I cannot find any, which appears to me to favour it. Aaron and the elders of Israel coming to Jethro's sacrifice, hints to me, that the law was not yet given, nor Aaron consecrated to the priesthood; for if it had been given, Jethro might perhaps have been admitted to Aaron's sacrifice; but Aaron and the Israelites would not, I think, have partook of Jethro's; and therefore Jethro's coming to Moses must have been just after the victory over the Amalekites, as soon as they came to Sinai; and to this time, I think, the account of Moses, Exodus xviii, 5, does well fix it,

been wrought for their deliverance⁵. Jethro full of joy gave praise to God for his favours to them⁶; and offered a sacrifice of thanksgiving, and invited Aaron and the elders of Israel to it⁷. The day after, seeing Moses engaged all day long in determining little controversies, he observed to him, that he was fallen into a way, which would be full of fatigue to himself, and not give a due dispatch to the public business. Therefore he advised him to range the people in classes of thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens, and to appoint proper officers over the several classes, and reserve only matters of appeal and of the highest moment to his own decision⁸. Moses approved of this advice of Jethro, and according to it appointed such officers as he had directed, to hear and decide the lesser controversies, and to dispense justice under him unto the people⁹.

A noble author makes the following reflection upon Jethro's advice here given to Moses. He says, that "the great founder of the Hebrew state had not perfected his model, until he consulted the foreign priest, his father-in-law, to whose advice he paid such remarkable deference¹." The reflection insinuates, that a part of the Jewish polity was a contrivance of Jethro, and therefore that the whole cannot be pretended to be a divine institution. In answer hereto, I would observe,

⁵ Exod. xviii, 8.

⁶ Ver. 9.

⁷ Ver. 12.

⁸ Ver. 13—24.

⁹ Ver. 25.

¹ Lord Shaftesbury's Charact. vol. iii, p. 58.

1. That the advice which Jethro gave Moses, and what Moses did upon it, was not to perfect his model, as this noble writer is pleased to call it; for the advice was given and first executed, before there were any steps at all taken towards forming the Jewish polity; before God had given Moses any laws at all for the constitution of the Jewish state. But, 2. What Jethro here advised Moses to, though Moses followed the advice at the time it was given, nay and afterwards made use of it again, when circumstances required; was yet never made an essential part of the Jewish constitution. If we look for the institutions, which Moses has delivered down to us as dictated by God, for the government of the people, we shall find these only: Moses was at first their sole leader and governor, and Jethro found him acting without assistants in this capacity². When Moses was called up into mount Sinai, Aaron and Hur were to supply his place³. After this Aaron and his sons were appointed to the priests' office⁴; some time after, twelve persons were named, one out of every tribe, to be princes of the tribes of their fathers, heads of thousands in Israel, and assistants to Moses and Aaron in the government of the people⁵. The Levites were selected to be over the tabernacle, and to minister unto it⁶, and upon Moses's complaint, that his burden was too great, and that he

² Exod. xviii, 14.

³ Chap. xxix, 14.

⁴ Chap. xxviii.

⁵ Numbers i, 4—16.

⁶ Ver. 50; see chap. iii.

wanted more assistants, GOD appointed seventy elders, and put his spirit upon them, that they might bear the burden of the people with Moses, and that he might not bear it himself alone⁷. These all were indeed appointed to their respective offices by divine institution, and these were all the officers who were really so appointed. As to the rulers of thousands, of hundreds, of fifties, and of tens, when Jethro advised Moses to appoint them; he indeed intimated to him to consult, if GOD would command him to institute⁸ them: but we are not told that Moses did so; but that he *hearkened to the voice of his father-in-law, and did all that he had said, and chose able men, and made them rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens*⁹. So that the text evidently suggests, that Moses first instituted these officers, not by divine command, but by Jethro's direction. In like manner, when Moses afterwards revived these officers (for upon GOD's giving the law, and appointing priests and Levites, heads of tribes, and princes of the congregation, the people must have been new modelled; and whatever appointments Moses had before made prudentially, must of course have gone out of use, and been abolished by the newer institutions); I say, when Moses found it expedient to revive the offices of the rulers of thousands, of hundreds, of fifties, and of tens, he in no wise hints that he had any direction

⁷ Numbers xi, 16, 17.

⁸ Exod. xviii, 23.

⁹ Ver. 24, 25.

from GOD for so doing; but entirely represents it as a scheme agreed upon by himself and the people. Moses found the people so multiplied, as to be too many¹ to be well managed in the hands of those he had to assist him; this he represented to the people, and recommended to them to choose proper persons for him to make rulers over them². The people approved of what he had recommended³; and accordingly, with their consent, he appointed these officers⁴. *Moses spake unto the people, saying, I am not able to bear you myself alone: The LORD your GOD hath multiplied you—How can I bear your cumbrance, and your burthen, and your strife? Take ye wise and understanding men, and known among your tribes, and I will make them rulers over you. And ye answered me, and said, The thing which thou hast spoken is good for us to do. So I took the chief of your tribes, wise men and known, and made them heads over you, captains over thousands, and captains over hundreds, and captains over fifties, and captains over tens, and officers among your tribes. And I charged your judges at that time, saying, Hear the causes between your brethren, and judge righteously, &c.* Moses has pretty well fixed for us the time of his thus re-instituting these officers. It was upon the removal of the camp from Sinai to go into the wilderness of Paran⁵. *The LORD spake unto him, saying⁶, Ye*

¹ Deut. i, 9, 10.² Ver. 12, 13.³ Ver 14.⁴ Ibid.⁵ Compare Deut. i, 6, 7, with Numbers x, 11, 12, &c.⁶ Deut. i, 6, 7.

have dwelt long enough in this mount : turn you, and take your journey, and go to the mount of the Amorites, and unto all the places nigh thereunto : and at that time Moses⁷ spake unto the people, about appointing these officers. A few days after this, the seventy elders were appointed, for they were appointed at Taberah, or Kibroth Hattaavah⁸; and the camp had marched three days successively, before they came hither⁹. Moses found that the appointment of the officers agreed upon by the people did not fully answer their occasions, and that he wanted not only officers under himself to execute his orders, and determine smaller matters, but assistants of more influence, who might with himself direct in matters of greater moment. But for these he does not apply to the congregation, as he did for the others, but immediately to God ; and these were not instituted upon the people's approving the thing he had spoken to be good for them to do¹, but here God expressly ordered him to gather to him seventy men of the elders of Israel, and told him, that he would come down and talk with him, and give them of his spirit to make² them sufficient for the employment to which they were to be appointed. Thus we may see a very remarkable difference in the institution of the officers upon which our noble author has remarked, if compared with those who were appointed by divine

⁷ Deut. i, 9.

⁸ Chap. x, 33.

⁹ Numb. xi, 16, 17.

⁸ Numb. xi.

¹ Deut. i, 14.

direction. I might go farther, and observe, that the several officers, whom GOD had appointed, continued to have their name, title, and authority through all the changes of the Jewish state. The priests, the Levites, the heads of tribes, the seventy elders had, all of them, their stated and respective offices and employments; not only under Moses, but under Joshua, in the time of the judges, under the kings, in all times, and under all revolutions. But as to the captains of thousands, hundreds, of fifties, and of tens, as their institution was not of divine authority, so their office was not thus fixed nor lasting. Moses did not bind his successors to the use of them. GOD had not prescribed them to him, neither did he prescribe them to them; for he only gave the Israelites a general rule, to make themselves judges and officers in all their gates throughout their tribes, to judge the people with just judgment^s. Accordingly, though indeed we find officers of these names in every age, yet we shall not find that the Israelities kept them up in the manner, and to the purpose, for which Moses appointed them; but rather that they varied both their number, and their office, as the circumstances of the state required, or the persons who had the appointing these officers thought fit to employ them. Here therefore is the failure of our noble author's reflection; who designed to prove, that some part of the Jewish polity was a contrivance

^s Deut. xvi, 18.

of Jethro, and consequently a mere human institution; but his instance is a point, which was indeed a human institution, but not an essential and established part of the Jewish polity. There are indeed some learned writers, who have thought these officers of divine appointment⁴; but whoever will carefully examine, will find no good foundation for their opinion; and may thereby effectually silence a cavil, which our modern deists, from the hint I have considered, think to raise against the Jewish polity. Jethro made but a short stay with Moses; for before they departed from Rephidim, *he went his way into his own land*⁵.

The Israelites, on the fifteenth day of the third month after their leaving Egypt, marched from Rephidim into the wilderness of Sinai, and pitched their camp at the foot of mount Sinai⁶; where

⁴ Vid. Sigon. de Rep. Heb. lib. vii, c. 7.

⁵ Exod. xviii, 27.

⁶ Exod. xix, 1, 2. The words of Moses seem to me to intimate, that the Israelites came to Sinai on the 15th day of this month. They came here, Moses says, in the third month of their exit from Egypt (ביום הזה) *bejom hazzeh*, on the very day, *i. e.* of their exit, or on the 15th; for on that day of the first month they came out of Egypt. The most learned Archbishop Usher indeed took the words otherwise. He supposes that *bejom hazzeh* refers to the month, and intimates that the Israelites came to Sinai on the day of the month the same in number with the month, or on the third day of the third month: see his Annals. Other writers imagine that the words *bejom hazzeh* signify no more, than that they came to Sinai on the very day they left Rephidim, and that the intimation here intended is, that from Rephidim to Sinai was the journey of but one day. Vid. Pool's Synop. in loc. There are

they stayed almost a year⁷. In the first three days was transacted what is recorded in the xix, xx, xxi, xxii, xxiii chapters of Exodus⁸. And Moses probably spent some days in writing down the laws and judgments which GOD had given them⁹; after which he built an altar, offered sacrifices, and read what he had written in the book¹, and the people entered into the most solemn engagement to perform what was written in it². After this, Moses and Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel went up some part of the mountain³, *and they saw the GOD of Israel*⁴, and

some, who would render the verse to this purpose, *On the third new moon after the exit, on the very day*, i. e. of the moon, &c. so as to fix the coming to Sinai to be on the first day of this third month. But to this it is obvious to answer; the word חֹדֶשׁ must be here translated month, and not new moon; for, 1. The Israelites coming out of Egypt in the middle of the first month, the first day of the third month could be only the second, and not the third new moon after their exit. 2. The sacred writers never use such an expression, as is here before us; for *on the first day of a month (beachad lachdesh) is on the first day of the month*. See Gen. viii, 5, 13; Exodus xl, 2; Levit. xxiii, 24; Numbers i, 1, xxix, 1, xxxiii, 31; Deut. i, 3; Ezra iii, 6; Nehem. viii, 2; Ezek. xxvi, 1, xxxi, 1, xlv, 18, &c.; and thus Moses would most probably have here written, if the first day of the month had been here intended by him.

⁷ They came to Sinai on the fifteenth of the third month, in the first year of the exit, and they left Sinai on the twentieth day of the second month of the second year; so that they stayed here eleven months and five days.

⁸ Exodus xix, 11.

⁹ Chap. xxiv, 4.

¹ Ver. 7.

² Ver. 7, 8.

³ Ver. 9.

⁴ Ver. 10.

*worshipped him*⁵. And Moses, upon GOD's commanding it, having given Aaron and Hur the charge of the people, went with Joshua up to the top of the mount, and was on the mount forty days and forty nights⁶; during which time he received the directions and commands contained in Exodus xxv, and in the following chapters to the end of the xxxist.

It may be here asked, how and in what sense did Moses, Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, and the elders, see the GOD of Israel? *No man hath seen GOD at any time*⁷. It seems hard to imagine, how the infinite GOD can be clothed in shape, and bounded within the limits of a form or figure, so as to become the object of sight to a mortal eye. The wise heathens apprehended insuperable difficulties in any such supposition⁸; and it must be confessed, that some of the versions of the Bible do not render the passage literally. The LXX translate it, *They saw the place where there stood the GOD of Israel*⁹; and Onkelos, *They saw the glory of the GOD of Israel*¹. And the commentators, from what Moses in another place remarks to the Israelites, that they had seen no manner of similitude, generally conclude, that he did not intend

⁵ Exod. xxiv, 11.

⁶ Ver. 12—18.

⁷ 1 John iv, 12.

⁸ Ως δε και σωματος ανθρωπινου και ωρας ουτις θεω και δαιμονι κοινωνια και χαρις, εργον ηδη και ταυτο πεισθηναι. Plut. in Numa, p. 62.

⁹ Ιδον τον τοπον ο εισηκει ο Θεος τε Ισραηλ. MS. A.

¹ Targum Onkelos.

here to intimate, that he or the nobles of Israel did really and visibly see GOD. But I would beg leave to offer to the reader some thoughts which occur to me, whenever I read this passage.

1. I cannot but observe, that Moses does not say, that he and the nobles of Israel saw the invisible GOD; the expression is, that they saw *the GOD of Israel*². *No man indeed hath ever seen the invisible GOD*³, *nor can see him*⁴; but the GOD of Israel, the divine person, who is many times stiled in the old Testament *the GOD of Abraham, the GOD of Isaac, and the GOD of Jacob*⁵, frequently appeared to them, and was in after-ages made flesh⁶, and for about three and thirty years dwelt on Earth amongst men. 2. That this person appeared to the patriarchs of old, in a real body, was evident to them by the same infallible proofs as those, by which he showed himself alive to his disciples after his passion⁷. After he was risen from the dead, he was seen by the disciples speaking to them⁸; and so he was in divers places, and at sundry times to Abraham⁹, to Isaac¹, and to Jacob². The disciples not only beheld him, but felt, and handled him, and were as sure that he

² Exodus xxiv, 10.

³ Coloss. i, 15.

⁴ 1 Tim. vi, 16.

⁵ Gen. xxvi, 24, xxviii, 13; Exodus iii, 6; see vol. ii. b. 9; see Acts vii, 2, and Gen. xvii, 1.

⁶ See vol. i, b. 5; John i, 14.

⁷ Acts i, 3.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Gen. xii, 7, xvii, 1, xviii, 1.

¹ Ibid. xxvi, 24.

² Ibid. xxxii, 30, xxxv, 9.

was really with them, as they were that *a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as they saw him have*³. In like manner Jacob experienced as sensible a presence, when he wrestled with him⁴. *Whilst the disciples believed not but wondered, he said unto them, have ye here any meat? and they gave him a piece of a broiled fish, and of a honeycomb, and he took it, and did eat before them*⁵. Agreeably hereto, when THE LORD⁶, with two angels accompanying him, appeared unto Abraham in the plains of Mamre, after Abraham had the calf dressed, and set it before them, whilst he stood by them under the tree, *they did eat*⁷. Now from all these passages, I think, I see it to have been real and indisputable fact, that the person, who is here stiled the God of Israel, did frequently, for a short or a longer space of time, according to his own good will and pleasure, assume and unite himself to a real body, and thereby appear visible to such persons as he thought fit to manifest himself to in this manner; and consequently that he might be thus seen by Moses and the elders on the mount. His appearance on the mount was indeed glorious⁸, attended with a splendour in which he had not before been seen by man; and perhaps something like it afterwards was his transfiguration before the three disciples⁹. But the text of Moses does in no wise

³ Luke xxiv, 39.

⁵ Luke xxiv, 41, 42, 43.

⁷ Ver. 8.

⁹ Matt. xvii; Mark ix.

⁴ Gen. xxxii.

⁶ Gen. xviii, 1.

⁸ Exodus xxiv, 10.

suggest, that he and the elders saw the GOD of Israel in all his glory. Moses indeed did afterwards desire thus to see him¹; but was answered, that he was not capable of it²; and accordingly at that time, while the glory of the LORD passed by him, Moses was put in a clift of the rock, and the LORD covered him with his hand, while he passed by³. But here, *upon the nobles of Israel he laid not his hand*⁴. They had an unintercepted view of his appearance; and consequently he appeared to them, with a lesser degree of glory, such as men might see and live.

As to what may be pretended of the wise and learned heathens; that they by the light of nature would have judged such an appearance, as is here spoken of, absurd and impossible; I would observe, that it is indeed true, that their earliest philosophy led them to think, that *the lights of Heaven were the gods that governed the world*⁵; and to ascribe no human shape to these divinities, nor to set up idols of human form in their ancient image worship, but rather to consecrate sacred animals, and to dedicate their images; the images *of birds and four-footed beasts, and creeping things*⁶. These they imagined were proper objects or directors of their worship; and have left us what they thought a philosophical reason for the

¹ Exodus xxxiii, 18.

² Ver. 20.

³ Ver. 22.

⁴ Chap. xxiv, 11.

⁵ Wisdom xiii, 2; see vol i, b. v; vol. ii, b. viii.

⁶ Vol. ii, b. viii.

use they made of them⁷. But notwithstanding all this, in time, a newer theology succeeded among them, and in all nations, except the more eastern, which had but little knowledge of, or concern in what happened in Canaan and the countries adjacent to it, or which were instructed from it, gods of human form were introduced into every temple, and human images were erected to them. And yet, in after-times, when their philosophers came to speculate upon this subject, both this worship and theology was thought by them to have been the invention of fabulists and poets, and not to have been derived from reason and truth⁸. They thought it *mythic* or popular, but in no wise agreeable to their notions of the nature of divine beings⁹, but rather contrary to them. It is remarkable, that this their later theology was never thought of in any nation, until after the LORD had appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, unto Jacob, unto Moses, until after an angel had appeared unto Balaam¹, unto Joshua², and to divers other persons; not until after the fame of these appearances had spread into, and obtained credit in divers

⁷ Ἀγαπήτεον ἐν ὧ ταῦτα τιμῶντας, ἀλλὰ δια τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς ἐναργεσερῶν ἐσοπλήρων καὶ φύσει γεγενομένων. Plut. de Iside et Osiride, p. 382.

⁸ Vide Plat. de Rep. lib. ii.

⁹ Tria sunt genera theologiæ, eorumque unum mythicon appellatur, alterum physicon, tertium civile. Mythicon appellatur, quo maximè utuntur poetæ, physicon, quo philosophi; primum quod dixi, in eo sunt multa contra dignitatem et naturam immortalium ficta, &c. Varro in Fragment. p. 31.

¹ Numbers xxii.

² Joshua v, 13.

countries. From all which I am apt to conclude, that no science or speculation, but a belief of facts well attested, led the heathens into this their newer theology³. What was said of the appearances of angels unto men among the Hebrews, and to some other persons of other nations, was known to have been fact, beyond a possibility of contradiction. Hence it came to pass, that though philosophy suggested no such innovation, yet the directors of the Sacra of heathen kingdoms could not well avoid an imitation, of what, as fact, could not be denied to have happened in the world; and this by degrees led them to their new gods. Thus, if we consult the ancient heathens, instead of finding from their philosophy objections sufficient to weaken the credibility of what the Scriptures record, concerning the appearances of divine and superior beings, we may, from the alteration which they made in their sacred institutions, be induced to think, that these Scripture facts had been so well attested to the world, that even nations, not immediately concerned in them, could not but admit the truth of them, and think them of weight enough to cause them to vary from what they had

³ There are many passages in the heathen writers, which intimate that they thought it a fact, which could in no wise be denied, that the gods had appeared unto men. Thus, *Sæpe visæ formæ deorum quemvis non hebetem aut impium deos præsentem esse confiteri coegerunt.* Tullius de Nat. Deor. lib. ii, cap. 2. Again, *Præterea ipsorum deorum præsentia, quales supra commemoravi, declarant, ab his et civitatibus, et singulis hominibus consuli.* Id. *ibid.* c. 66.

before esteemed the principles both of their science and religion. But,

Moses is said to have remarked to the Israelites, that they had *seen no manner of similitude*. I answer, nothing can, I think, be concluded from the passage alluded to⁴, to contradict what Moses relates, Exodus xxiv, that he and the elders *saw the God of Israel*. The passage cited from Deuteronomy expressly refers to the day in which GOD delivered, in an audible voice, the ten commandments from the mount to the people. And Moses's design in it was, to caution them, by a due regard to that day's transactions, to be exceeding careful not to fall into idolatry. He exhorts them, ver. 9, 10, never to forget *the things which their eyes had seen on the day that they stood before the LORD in Horeb*. He reminds them, ver. 12, that in that day *the LORD spake unto them out of the midst of the fire*, that they *heard the voice of the words, but saw no similitude, only they heard a voice*. He then again charges them to take good heed to themselves, lest they should *make the similitude of any figure*; by observing again to them, ver. 15, that they *saw no similitude, on the day that the LORD spake unto them in Horeb, out of the midst of the fire*. On this day it was, that GOD instructed them how he would be worshipped, and commanded them to make to themselves no manner of image⁵; therefore to this particular day's trans-

⁴ Deut. iv, 15.

⁵ Exodus xx, 4, 5.

action Moses might well appeal, in order to charge them in the strictest manner to be careful to observe this commandment. Accordingly, what he here offers is by his own express words limited and confined to the transactions of the day here referred to ; and I do not see, how any thing can be concluded from what is here said, against what he may have suggested as happening on any other day whatsoever.

About these times Lelex, who was the first king of Laconia, flourished in that country ; and seems to have been somewhat elder than Moses. He came originally from Egypt⁵, made divers settlements in many places, in Caria⁶, in Ionia⁷, at Ida, near Troy⁸, and afterwards in Greece, in Acarnania⁹, in Ætolia¹, in Bœotia², and last of all in Laconia. When Lelex began his travels, he took the same rout that Cecrops and the father of Cadmus had before taken. He went up into Phœnicia, thence into the lesser Asia, and from thence he crossed over into Greece, and made settlements in many places, until at length he came into Laconia. In all parts where he made any stay, he endeavoured to form and civilize the uncultivated people ; and probably, when he re-

⁵ Λεγέσιν οἱ Μεγαρεῖς Λελέγα ἀφικομένον ἐξ Ἀιγυπτῆς βασιλευσαι. Pausan. in Atticis, c. 39.

⁶ Vid. Strab. Geog. lib. vii, p. 321 ; lib. xiii, p. 611 ; Hom. Il. φ. ver. 86, 87.

⁷ Strab. lib. xiv, p. 640.

Id. ibid.

⁸ Id. ibid. et in lib. ix, p. 401.

⁹ Id. lib. vii, p. 321.

¹ Id. ibid.

moved, he left some of his followers to complete his designs; and upon every procession to a new country he took with him such new associates as had a mind to accompany him from the places where he had last resided. By these means the company he commanded would in a few years be a mixed multitude gathered out of different nations; and his followers having been of this sort, seemed to Strabo to be the reason why the Greeks called him Lelex, and them Leleges³. It was found in writing in the times of the Maccabees, that the Lacedæmonians and the Jews were brethren; and that the Lacedæmonians were descended *of the stock of Abraham*⁴. I imagine, that this Lelex was an Israelite, and that as divers eminent persons of the Egyptians, upon the conquest which the pastors made of their country, fled with as many as would follow them into foreign lands⁵; some of the Hebrews, when they were pressed with slavery, might do the same thing, and this Lelex might be one of them; and when he had obtained a settlement in Laconia, both what we find in Pausanias of his coming out of Egypt⁶, and this hint of his relation to the Hebrews might be recorded of him. Some of the Greek writers mistake the time of his coming into Greece; who report that it was about thirteen generations after Phoroneus, king of Argos⁷. But

³ Vid. Strab.-lib. vii, p. 322.

⁴ 1 Mac. xii, 21.

⁵ See vol. ii, b. 8.

⁶ Pausan. in Attic. c. 39.

⁷ Pausan. in Attic, c. 39.

we must not suppose it so late; for from Menelaus who warred at Troy up to Lelex, we find ten successive kings of this country exclusive of Menelaus⁸; and in Castor's list we have but fourteen successions from Phoroneus down to Agamemnon the leader of the Greeks, contemporary with Menelaus⁹; so that Lelex cannot have been at most above three or four reigns later than Phoroneus. We find a hint in Strabo, which may well fix for us the time of Lelex's entering Laconia. He records, that the Leleges were in Bœotia, when Cadmus came thither; and that Cadmus expelled them that country¹. They were hereupon compelled to a farther travel, and therefore at this time, they and their leader marched to Laconia, and began the kingdom of Lacedæmonia. Cadmus came into Bœotia A. M. 2486². And therefore to this year I should fix Lelex's going into Laconia; who according to this computation came thither in the reign of Triopas, or Crotopus, the fourth or fifth king of³ Argos from Phoroneus. Agreeably to this computation, we may well suppose ten kings of Lacedæmonia from Lelex to Menelaus; but if we place Lelex lower there can be no room for such a succession. I might add, that it farther appears, that Lelex lived about these times, from what Pausanias records of

⁸ Pausan. in Laconic.

⁹ Euseb. in Chronico.

¹ Strab. Geog. lib. xi, p. 401.

² See vol. ii, b. viii.

³ Triopas was noted by the ancient writers to live about the times of Cecrops. See vol. ii, b. 8.

Polycaon his younger son, that he married Messene the daughter of Triopas⁴; so that Lelex and Triopas were nearly contemporaries. I suppose Lelex somewhat elder than Moses; his coming into Laconia after so many travels, must have been towards the end of his own life; but the year 2486 in which he entered that country, falls about the middle of Moses's days; in Moses's fifty-third year, twenty-seven years before he led the Israelites out of Egypt. We are nowhere told how long Lelex governed his new settlement; his eldest son Myles succeeded him⁵, and at Myles's death, Eurotas son of Myles became king⁶. Eurotas at his death left no male heirs⁷, and Polycaon the younger son of Lelex was settled in another country⁸. Hence it happened at the demise of Eurotas, that the crown of Laconia went into another family; and Lacedæmon, son of Jupiter and Taygete was promoted to it⁹. Pausanias has recorded the names of the Lacedæmonian kings¹; and from Lelex to Menelaus who warred at Troy, they are as follows; Lelex, Myles, Eurotas, Lacedæmon, Amyclas, Argalus, Cynortas, Oebalus, Hippocoon, Tyndareus, and Menelaus. Castor and Pollux were the sons of Tyndareus², and engaged in the Argonautic expedition³; but they were never kings of

⁴ Pausan. in Laconic. c. 1; et in Messenic. c. 1.

⁵ Id. in Laconic. ubi sup.

⁶ Id. ibid.

⁷ Id. ibid.

⁸ Id. in Messenic. ubi sup.

⁹ Id. in Laconic.

¹ Id. ibid.

² Apollod. Biblioth. lib. iii, c. 9.

³ Apollon. Argon. et. Val. Flacc.

Lacedæmonia, but died before their father⁴; and upon their death, Tyndareus sent for Menelaus to succeed him in his kingdom⁵.

The famous Jupiter of the Greeks was also contemporary with Moses. He was son of Saturn, a king of Crete⁶. The remains we now have of the ancient writers seem to give but a confused account of the early history of the Cretans; though it is remarkable, that the Cretans were formerly so famous for their history, as to have the wisest of men think it worth while to travel to them to peruse their records⁷. But of what now remains about them, almost all is fable; though I cannot but think, a careful inquirer may still collect particulars, and give them more light than they are generally thought capable of receiving. Cres was king of Crete about the fifty-sixth year of Abraham⁸, Talus was son of Cres, Vulcan of Talus, and Rhadamanthus of Vulcan⁹. About the time of this Rhadamanthus¹ we may place the Dactyli Idæi², who were five brothers, as many in number as the fingers of a man's hand, and for that reason

⁴ Apollod. lib. iii, c. 10.

⁵ Id. *ibid*.

⁶ Diodor. Sic. lib. v, c. 68; Apollod. Biblioth. lib. i.

⁷ Ἐγὼ τε καὶ Σολων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος πλωσαντες μὲν εἰς Κρήτην κατὰ τὴν κειθὶ ἱστορίαν. Diogen. Laert. in vit. Thalet.

⁸ Euseb. in Chron.

⁹ Cinæthon. in Paus. Arcad. c. 53.

¹ We are not to suppose that the Rhadamanthus here spoken of was the same person with one of that name, who was brother of Minos; nor the Vulcan here mentioned to be the same with Vulcan son of Jupiter. Persons of later ages frequently had the names which their ancestor had borne ages before them.

² Diodor. Sic. l. v, c. 64.

called Dactyli³. One of these Dactyli was probably named Jupiter; for there was a more ancient Jupiter than the son of Saturn⁴, who was father of the Curetes⁵, and brother of Ouranus⁶; so that Ouranus might be another of the Dactyli. Saturn was son of Ouranus⁷, and Jupiter was son of Saturn⁸. From Abraham to Moses are seven descents; Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Levi, Cohath, Amram, Moses; and there are about as many from Cres to Jupiter, namely, Cres, Talus, Vulcan, Rhadamanthus, Ouranus, Saturn, Jupiter. If Ouranus and the rest of the Dactyli were of the same descent with Rhadamanthus, we have but six; but, if they were in the descent next after him, we have exactly seven, as in the family of Abraham. Diodorus Siculus mentions no kings of Crete between Cres and the Dactyli; but it is observable, that he does not say that the Dactyli flourished in or next after the times of Cres. Diodorus reckoned up the worthies who lived between Cres and Saturn, whom the ages which succeeded had mentioned with honour; and it is easy to imagine, that there might be two or three descents between the times of Cres and the Dactyli, in which nothing memorable was done, in the way of either great actions or useful inventions, to bear their fame down to posterity, and so the names of

³ Diodor. Sic. lib. v, c. 64; Strabo Geog. lib. x, p. 487.

⁴ Diodor. lib. iii, c. 61.

⁵ Id. *ibid*.

⁶ Id. *ibid*.

⁷ Id. lib. v, c. 66; Apollod. Biblioth. lib. i.

⁸ Diodorus, lib. v, c. 69, 70, 71; Apollod. *ubi sup*.

those who lived in these generations might either not come to Diodorus, or he not think it worth while to mention them. If Cres himself had not excelled those who lived before him, in teaching his countrymen many things conducive to their public welfare⁹, Diodorus had probably taken no notice of him; and had his successors been as eminent as he was, their names perhaps would have been recorded by him. But after the death of Cres¹, no advance being made either in arts or government, until the Dactyli, the names between Cres and their times were omitted by Diodorus.

Ouranus lived in the eastern parts of Crete; for his son Saturn afterwards removed westward². Ouranus married Titæ³, who, according to the custom of these times, which was, to give the names of the elements and lights of heaven (they being deities now worshipped) to eminent persons, took the names of Terra or Tellus, as her husband was called Cœlum or Ouranus. The children born of these two parents were first the Centimani; namely, Briareus, Gyes, and Cæus⁴.

⁹ Τον μὲν Βασιλεᾶ Κρητὰ καλεζόμενον πλείῃσα καὶ μεγίστα κατὰ τὴν νήσον εὐρεῖν τὰ δυναμένα τον κοῖνον των ἀνθρώπων εἶον ὠφελεῖν. Diodor. Sic. lib. v, c. 64.

¹ Perhaps Cres having none to second him, the useful designs he attempted might drop at his death; and though he had the descendants we have mentioned, yet none of them might be kings, nor any government set up in Crete in their names.

² Diodor. c. 66.

³ Id. *ibid*.

⁴ Apollod. Biblioth. lib. i. c. 1.

The fabulous writers say, that each of these men had a hundred hands and fifty heads⁵. They were of larger size, of greater strength⁶, and perhaps of more cunning and contrivance than common men; and fable has given them the hands and heads of multitudes, for being superior to single men in their wisdom and valour. Ouranus sent them to inhabit the land of Tartarus; for here we find them in power and command in the days of Jupiter⁷. What or where the country was, which was thus named, may be difficult to determine. Pluto was afterwards king of it⁸, and I imagine it was no part of Crete; for when Pluto took away Proserpine from her mother Ceres, Ceres sought her, *κατα πασαν την γην*, *i. e.* all over Crete, but could not find her⁹; afterwards she heard that she was with Pluto; so that Pluto's dominions were not in Crete, but in some foreign country. We are told by Apollodorus, that the Cyclops were sent into this land of Tartarus¹; and Homer appears to think that they lived in the island of Sicily². Strabo supposed that in this point he had given us not fiction, but true history³; and we find Thucydides, though he had nothing to offer about the rise or exit of this set of men, whence they

⁵ Apollod. Biblioth. lib. i, c. 1.

⁶ Μεγεθει τε ανυπερβλητοι και δυναμει καθεισθηκεσαν. Id. *ibid.*

⁷ Apollod. Biblioth. lib. i, c. 2.

⁸ Id. *ibid.*

⁹ Δημητρα δε μετα λαμπαδων νυκτιος τε και ημερας κατα πασαν την γην ζητwsα περιηει. Apollodor. Biblioth. lib. i, c. 5.

¹ Id. *ibid.* c. 1.

² Odyss. ix.

³ Strabo Geog. lib. i, p. 20.

came hither, or whither they removed, yet not doubting but that they were of the most ancient inhabitants of this island⁴. Agreeably hereto, Tartarus the father of Typhon appears from Apollodorus to have lived in Sicily in the age I am treating of⁵: and in these days probably this island was called after his name. This land of Tartarus was said to be as far distant from the Earth, as the Earth is from Heaven⁶. This might be the ancient Cretan account of it, and by the Earth they might mean their own island, and intended only to assert that Tartarus was at an immeasurable distance from their shore; and unquestionably from Crete to Sicily was a considerable voyage in those ages. As Pluto, from his having been the person who invented the rites and ceremonies⁷ used at funerals, came in after-ages to be called the god of the dead; so the country where he had been king was reputed to be their region, and all the gloomy fictions imagined to belong to the state of the departed were related to have their place in this land of Tartarus. But it is obvious that these fables were not invented, until ages after the times of the Centimani; and not until long after Sicily ceased to be called by this

⁴ Thucyd. Hist. lib. vi.

⁵ Id. ibid. lib. i, c. 6, sect. 3.

⁶ Τοπος δε ετος τοσαυτον απο γης εχων διαστημα, οσον απ' ερανε γη. Apollod. lib. i, c. 1, sec. 1.

⁷ Τον δ' Ἀδην, λεγεται, τα περι τας ταφας, και τας εκφορας, και τιμας των τεθνεωτων καταδειξαι — διο και των τετελευτηκοτων ο θεος ετος παρειληπται κυριευειν. Diodorus, Sic. lib. v, p. 233.

its ancient name. 2. The Cyclops were also sons of Ouranus and Tellus⁸; whose names were Harpes, Steropes, and Brontes. They were said to have but one eye apiece, and that situate in the middle of their foreheads⁹. These men were the archers of their times, and usually shut one eye, to take their aim in shooting¹; which occasioned the fable of their having only one eye. Ouranus sent them to Tartarus unto their brethren². 3. Ouranus and Tellus were the parents of the Titans also, whose names were Oceanus, Cæus, Hyperion, Crius, Japetus, and Saturn³, and of the Titanides, who were Tethys, Rhea, Themis, Mnemosyne, Phœbe, Dione, and Thia⁴. Tellus the wife of Ouranus had also other children, namely, Phorcus,

⁸ Apollod. lib. i, c. 1.

⁹ Id. *ibid*.

¹ I have forgotten from whom I had this conjecture: I think it is Eustathius's. But I would observe, that the ingenious annotator upon the English Homer, whose real worth, as well as learning, makes it a pleasure to me to say, I have a friendship for him, gives a better account of this fable of the Cyclops; ascribing it to their wearing a head piece or martial vizor, that had but one sight through it. "The vulgar," says he, "form their judgments from appearances; and a mariner, who passed these coasts at a distance, observing the resemblance of a broad eye in the forehead of one of these Cyclops, might relate it accordingly, and impose it as a truth upon the ignorant. It is notorious, that things equally monstrous have found belief in all ages." See Dr. Broome's Notes upon Homer's *Odyssey*, b. ix, ver. 119.

² Apollodor. *ubi sup*.

³ Id. *ibid*.; Diodor. lib. v, c. 66.

⁴ Apollodor. *Biblioth.* lib. i, c. 1. Diodorus mentions only five, and calls them Rhea, Themis, Mnemosyne, Phœbe, and Thetis, lib. v, c. 66.

Thaumas, Nereus, Eurybæa, and Ceto, by a person named Pontus, who perhaps after the death of Ouranus was her second husband⁵; and Ouranus had several children by a concubine named Ops; who were Porphyryon, Halcyoneus, Ephialtes, Clytius, Enceladus, Polybotes, Gratian, and Thoon. Tellus made a voyage into Sicily, and stayed there some time, until she had a son named Typhon, by Tartarus, a person of the highest eminence in Sicily, in these ages⁶. Ops was no Cretan, but a foreigner; who came into Crete out of a more northern nation⁷. She is often taken to be the same person as Tellus, but it is evident she was not so; probably she was the Cybele of the ancients.

At the death of Ouranus, his son Saturn had his kingdom; who is said to have castrated and deposed his father⁸. But we have no reason to imagine that he did so, or that what is told us of the birth of the furies from Ouranus⁹ was real fact. Varro judiciously thought these relations to be parts of what he calls the Mythic Theology¹; which afforded many narrations of imaginary actions never really done, but founded upon the ancient philosophy and religion, historically put together².

⁵ Apollodor. lib. i, c. 2, sec. 5.

⁶ Id. c. 6.

⁷ Ωπειν, μιαν των εξ υπερβορειων παραγενομενων παρθενων.
Id. c. 4, sec. 4.

⁸ Apollodor. c. 1.

⁹ Id. Ibid.

¹ Vid. Varron. Frag. p. 31.

² See what I have offered upon this subject, vol. ii. book viii. Saturnus—falcem habet ob agriculturam. Quod

Saturn married his sister Rhea, and had by her three sons and three daughters, Jupiter, Neptune, Pluto, Vesta, Ceres, and Juno³. It is said of Saturn, that he ate up his children as soon as they were born*, that Jupiter only escaped, by a contrivance of his mother Rhea, who bundled up a stone in his clothes, and sent it to Saturn, which he, not doubting but it was his new-born son, took and ate up instead of him. Jupiter, they tell us, was put out to nurse by his mother to the Curetes. In time, they bring Saturn's children upon the stage again, and represent Jupiter as compelling his father, by some drink, to discharge his stomach of them, and of the stone with them⁴. Varro has given us a philosophic solution of this fable also⁵; but I would observe, that Saturn was the first in

Cælum patrem Saturnus castrasse in fabulis dicitur, hoc significat, penes Saturnum, non penes Cælum, semen esse divinum; hoc propterea quantum intelligi datur, quia nihil in Cælo de seminibus nascitur. Varro in Frag. p. 42.

³ Diodor. Apollodor. ubi. sup.

* This fable is explained by Cicero (de Nat. Deor. lib. ii.), as being only a metaphorical account of Time's destroying its own produce. His words are "*Κρονος*, qui est idem *Χρονος*, i. e. spatium temporis, appellatus est Saturnus, quod saturetur annis. Ex se enim natos comesse fingitur solitus, quia consumit ætas temporum spatia, annisque præteritis insaturabiliter expleter." EDIT.

⁴ Apollodor. Biblioth. lib. i.

⁵ Saturnum dixerunt, quæ nata ex eo essent, devorare solitum, quod eo semina, unde nascerentur, redirent; et quod illi pro Jove gleba objecta est devoranda, significat manibus humanis obrui cœptas serendo fruges, antequam subtilitas arandi esset inventa. Varro in Frag. p. 42.

these parts, who introduced a regularity of diet amongst his people⁶, and he might perhaps think it a matter of moment to begin from the first with his own children. We find the nursing and feeding infants with proper food became a sort of science in the generation next after him; and had directors appointed to take care of it⁷. If Saturn had formed any scheme of this sort, and upon this account took his children as soon as born from their mother; if as soon as they were fit for it, he sent them abroad for education into some foreign land (and the figure they all afterwards made in life, renders it highly probable, that they had better instruction than Crete was at this time able to give them); this might be a sufficient foundation for the fable handed down to us concerning Saturn. Rhea sent Jupiter to the Curetes; and a bundle of clothes, with a stone wrapped up in them to make them heavy, was carried where Saturn ordered, instead of him; and when Jupiter was grown up, and came home to his father, and Saturn thought fit to have his other children recalled from their foreign education; as he was before said to have eaten them, so now he might be represented to have vomited them up again. The fancy of the mythologists was extravagant beyond measure, and no representation could appear so monstrous or ridiculous, but they could think

⁶ Diodorus, lib. v, c. 66.

⁷ Ἀρτεμιν δὲ φασιν εὐρεῖν τὴν τῶν νηπιῶν παιδιῶν θηλασίαν, καὶ τροφὰς τινὰς ἀρμολύσας τῇ φύσει τῶν βρεφῶν. Diodor. c. 72.

it ingenious to dress up in it and disguise the plainest and most common transactions of life⁸.

When Saturn died, Jupiter succeeded to his kingdom⁹. Here again the mythologists give us fable, and suggest that Jupiter deposed his father, and divided his dominions between himself and his brethren¹. But Diodorus informs us, that there were other accounts of him; that he came to his crown at Saturn's death as his rightful heir, without attempts of his own to obtain a succession, or endeavours of others to prevent it². He married his sister Juno³, and by her had children, Hebe, Ilithya, Argos, Mars, and Vulcan⁴. He had several other wives, 1. Metis, by whom he had Pallas⁵. 2. Themis, who bare him Irene, Eunomia, and Dica, who were called the Horæ, and Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos, who were called the Fates⁶. 3. Euronome was the mother of Aglaia, Eu-

⁸ See vol. ii, b. viii. *Εν τῷ παντὶ αἰωνί πολλά μὲν παλαιὰ συμβάντα ἀπίστα εἶναι πεποιήασιν ἐς τῆς πολλῆς, οἱ τοῖς ἀληθεσὶν ἐποικοδομῶντες ἐψεύσμενα.* Pausan.

⁹ Diodor. Sic. lib. v, c. 71.

¹ Apollod. lib. i, c. 2.

² *Τινες μὲν φασὶν αὐτὸν μετὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ Κρόνῳ μετασασὶν εἰς θεὸς διαδεξασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν, ὃ ἕκαστος καλίσχοντα τὸν πατέρα, νομίμως δὲ καὶ δικαίως ἀξιώθεντα ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς.* —Diodor. lib. v, cap. 70.

³ Diodor. *ibid.*; Apollod. Bibl. lib. i, c. 3; Hesiod. *Θεογον.*

⁴ *Id. Ibid.*

⁵ Hesiod. *ibid.* Apollodorus supposes that Thetis the daughter of Nereus had borne him Pallas. Bibl. lib. i, c. 3, sec. 6.

⁶ Hesiod. Apollod.

phrosyne, and Thalia⁷. 4. Of Styx, or rather Ceres, was born Proserpine⁸. Of Mnemosyne were born the Muses, who have commonly been said to be nine in number; Varro thought they were originally only three⁹. 6. Latona bare him Diana and Apollo¹. 7. Venus was born to him of Dione². 8. Mercury of Maia³. 9. Bacchus of Semele⁴; and he had several other children, both sons and daughters, by divers other women. But let us endeavour first to fix with a little more cer-

⁷ Hesiod. Apollod.

⁸ Diodor. lib. v, c. 2; Hesiod. *Θεογον.*; Apollod. lib. i, c. 3, et c. 5.

⁹ Apol. lib. i, c. 3. Varro dicit, civitatem nescio quam (neque enim recordeo nomen) locasse apud tres artifices terna simulachra Musarum, quæ in templo Apollinis, Deo poneret, ut quisque artificum pulchriora formasset, ab illo potissimum electa emeret. Itaque contigisse, ut opera sua quoque illi artifices æque pulchra explicarent, et placuisse civitati omnes novem, atque omnes emptas esse, ut Apollinis templo dicarentur, quibus postea dicit Hesiodum poetam imposuisse vocabula. Non ergo ait, Jupiter novem Musas genuit, sed tres fabri ternas fecerunt. Tres autem non propterea civitas illa locaverat, quia in somnis eas viderat, aut tot se cujusquam illorum oculis demonstraverant sed quia facile erat animadvertere omnem sonum, qui materies cantilenarum est, triformem esse natura; aut enim editur voce, sicut est eorum, qui faucibus sine instrumento canunt, aut flatu sicut tubarum et tibiæ, aut pulsu sicut in cytharis, et tympanis, et quibusdam aliis, que percutiendo sonora fiunt. Varro in Fragment. p. 207; Vide Augustin. de Doctrin. Christian. lib. ii, c. 17.

¹ Apollodor. lib. i. c. 4. Δημητρός δὲ Ἀρτεμιν θυγατέρα εἶναι, καὶ ὁ Λητῆς, ὅλα Αἰγυπτίων τον λογον, Αἰσχυλος ἐδίδαξεν Εὐφοριωνος τῆς Ἑλληνας. Pausan. in Arcad. c. 37.

² Apollod. c. 3.

³ Id. lib. iii, c. 10, sec. 2.

⁴ Vid. quæ sup.; Diodo. Sic. lib. v, p. 230; Strab. Geog. lib. x, p. 473.

tainty the times in which Jupiter lived, and after that we may take a farther view of the transactions of his life.

Jupiter lived about eight or nine generations before the Trojan war; which may be very clearly computed by going through the genealogies of those who are recorded to be his descendants. Thus Æthlius, king of Elea in Greece, was son of Jupiter and Protogenia, the daughter of Deucalion⁵. His son Endymion succeeded him⁶. Epeus son of Endymion succeeded him⁷. Ætolus brother to Epeus was his successor⁸, and after Ætolus reigned Eleus his nephew⁹. At Eleus's death, Augeas son of Eleus had the kingdom¹. Agasthenes son of Augeas succeeded his father²; and Polyxenes son of Agasthenes, grandson of Augeas, commanded at Troy³. Thus if we count from Jupiter to the Trojan war, we find nine successions, or computing Epeus and Ætolus, who were brothers, to be in the same line of descent, eight generations. In the family of Thoas the son of Andræmon, who commanded the Ætolians in the Trojan war⁴, there are ten descents; for Thoas

⁵ Pausan. lib. v, c. 1; Apollod. Biblioth. lib. i, c. 7. It ought to be here remarked, that Æthlius was by some of the ancients thought to be the son of Æolus. See Pausan. lib. v, c. 8.

⁶ Apollod. Ibid. c. 7, sec. 5; Pausan. ubi sup.

⁷ Pausan. ibid.

⁸ Apollod. sec. 6; Pausan. ubi sup.

⁹ Pausan. ibid.

¹ Pausan. ibid.

² Pausan. ibid. lib. v, c. 3.

³ Pausan. ibid. Hom. Il. β, ver. 623.

⁴ Pausan. ubi sup. Hom. Il, β, ver. 638.

was six from Ætolus⁵, and Ætolus as above was four from Jupiter. In like manner we find ten descents from Jupiter to Diomedes, four to Ætolus as before. Pleuron was son of Ætolus⁶, Agenor of Pleuron⁷, Æneus of Agenor⁸, Tydens of Æneus⁹, and Diomedes of Tydens¹. If we go into another branch of Jupiter's family, we shall find the accounts much the same. Arcas was the son of Jupiter, born of Callistho daughter of Lycaon². Arcas succeeded Nyctimus the eldest son of Lycaon in the kingdom of Arcadia³. Azanas son of Arcas succeeded him⁴. Clitor son of Azanas succeeded his father⁵. Epitus a nephew of Azanas succeeded Clitor⁶, and Aleus another nephew succeeded Epitus⁷; at Aleus's death his son Lycurgus had the crown⁸, and at his death he left it to Echemus⁹. Agapenor grandson of Lycurgus succeeded Echemus¹, and led the Arcadians to Troy. Thus from Nyctimus, who may be supposed to be coætaneus with Jupiter, to Agapenor are nine successions; and, counting Clitor, Epitus, and Aleus, who were brothers' children, to be in the same line of descent, at least seven generations. In Laconia we find

⁵ Pausan. ubi sup.

⁶ Apollod. lib. i, c. 7, sec. 6.

⁷ Id. ibid.

⁸ Id. ibid.

⁹ Id. ibid.

¹ Id. ibid.

² Hyg. Fab. 155; Apollod. Biblio. lib. iii, c. 8, sec. 2; Pausan. in Arcad. c. 3.

³ Pausan. ibid. c. 4.

⁴ Id. Ibid.

⁵ Id. Ibid.

⁶ Id. in Arcad. c. 4.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹ Id. c. 5; Hom. Il. β, ver. 609.

Lacedæmon king of that country was son of Jupiter and Taygete daughter of Atlas². Amyclas the next king was his son³; Argalus succeeded his father Amyclas⁴; and Cynortas Argalus⁵; and Cynortas left his crown to Œbalus⁶. When Œbalus died, Hippocoon got possession of the throne, and for a time defeated Tyndareus the son of Œbalus⁷; but after some years Tyndareus ejected him⁸, and recovered the kingdom. Tyndareus had two sons, Castor and Pollux⁹, but they both died before him¹. He married his daughter Helen to Menelaus the son of Atreus², and at his death Menelaus succeeded him in his kingdom³. Thus from Lacedæmon the son of Jupiter to Helen and Menelaus, for whom the Greeks warred at Troy, are eight reigns and seven descents; or eight descents from Jupiter. Again, Dardanus king of Troy was son of Jupiter and Electra, daughter of Atlas⁴, Erichthonius of Dardanus⁵, Tros of Erichthonius⁶, Ilus of Tros⁷, Laomedon of Ilus⁸, Priamus of Laomedon⁹. Priamus was an old man

² Hygin. Fab. 155; Apollod. Bibl. lib. iii, c. 10, sec. 3; Pausan. in Laeon. c. i.

³ Pausan. *ibid.*

⁴ *Id. ibid.*

⁵ *Id. ibid.*

⁶ *Id. ibid.*

⁷ *Id. ibid.*

⁸ *Id. ibid.*

⁹ Apollod. Biblioth. lib. iii, c. 9, sec. 7.

¹ *Id. c. 10.*

² *Id. ibid. c. 9, sec. 8.*

³ *Id. ibid. c. 10.*

⁴ *Id. ibid. lib. iii, c. 11; Diodor. Sic. Hist. lib. v, c. 48; Hom. Il. v, ver. 215.*

⁵ Diodor. lib. iv, c. 75; Hom. Il. v, ver. 219.

⁶ Diodor. *ubi sup.*; Hom. Il. v, ver. 230.

⁷ Diodor; Hom. *ibid.*

⁸ *Id. ibid.*

⁹ *Id. ibid.*

when the Greeks warred against him; his son Hector was then in his full strength, and about the age of the Greek commanders, and from Jupiter to Hector are eight descents. We might examine the accounts we have of other families, and in all, of whom we have sufficient remains, we should find Jupiter about eight or nine generations before the Trojan war. Successions in families vary enough to cause this difference of a descent or two; but we have no genealogies that will allow us to place him later than the time of Moses; for Moses lived from A. M. 2433 to A. M. 2550¹. Take the middle of his life A. M. 2493, from thence to the war at Troy are about three hundred years, supposing Troy to have been taken about A. M. 2796²; and if we count eight or nine descents in this space of time, we go between thirty and forty years to a descent, and the generations we have examined being for the most part by the elder sons, this may pretty well agree with the length of such generations in these times.

As what I have offered does abundantly hint, that Jupiter lived about the age of Moses, so the particulars of his life do farther confirm it, and may perhaps enable us to settle more exactly the time when he flourished. 1. For Jupiter visited Lycaon king of Arcadia³, and had a son named Arcas, born of Callistho, Lycaon's daughter⁴. Now

¹ See vol. ii, book ix; Deut. xxxiv, 7.

² Id. book viii.

³ Hygin. Fab. 176; Apol. Bib. lib. iii, c. 8.

⁴ Id. *ibid.*; Pausan. in Arcadic. c. 3, 4.

Lycaon was contemporary, and of about the same years with the elder Cecrops⁵. Cecrops reigned in Attica from A. M. 2423 to A. M. 2473⁶. Lycaon was advanced towards old age when Jupiter visited him; for his children were all grown up, and of age to build cities and govern nations⁷. Jupiter therefore visited him about the end of the life of Cecrops; and not earlier than the fortieth year of Moses's age. But we may fix this matter with still greater certainty. Lycaon died by the hand of Jupiter⁸: at his death Nyctimus his eldest son had his crown⁹. Nyctimus was made king of Arcadia just upon the time of Deucalion's flood¹; and the ancients supposed that flood had happened A. M. 2476²; so that about this year Jupiter was in Arcadia, namely three years after the death of Cecrops, and in the forty-third year of Moses. Jupiter was undoubtedly of years of wisdom, authority, and experience of the world, when he transacted the affairs of Lycaon's kingdom; and to this agrees, 2. What we farther find from the marble, that Mars the son of Jupiter was tried at Athens for the death of Halirrothius the son of Neptune, A. M. 2473³; so that before Ju-

⁵ Δοκῶ δὲ ἐγῶγε Κεκροπι ἡλικίαν τῷ βασιλευσανίῃ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λυκαονί εἶναι τὴν αὐτὴν. Pausan. in Arcad. c. 2.

⁶ See vol. ii, b. viii.

⁷ Vid. Pausan. in Arcad. c. 3.

⁸ Apol. ubi. sup.

⁹ Pausan. ubi sup.; Apollod. ibid.

¹ Νυκτιμῶς δὲ βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν ὁ ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος κατὰ κλυσμός ἐγένετο. Apollod. ubi sup.

² Marmor. Arundell, Ep. iv.

³ Id. Ep. iii.

piter's expedition to Arcadia, his sons were grown up and engaged in the world. 3. Epaphus was son of Jupiter, born of Io⁴. Here indeed some of the genealogists make a mistake; for they suppose Io to be the daughter of Inachus; which would argue that Jupiter had lived three hundred years earlier than the times we are treating of, for Inachus reigned at Argos about A. M. 2154⁵. But Apollodorus has observed and corrected this error; who remarks, that Io the mother of Epaphus was not daughter of Inachus, but of Jasus⁶. Jasus, the father of Io, was son to Triopas king of Argos⁷; so that Io was Triopas's grand-daughter. Triopas was the sixth king of Argos from Inachus⁸; for Apis ought not to be inserted amongst the Argive kings⁹. Now if we count the number of years from the first year of Inachus to the last year of Triopas, we shall find them to amount to three hundred and fifteen¹. Compute then three hundred and fifteen years from A. M. 2154, the first year of Inachus, and we come down to A. M. 2469, in which year Triopas died. If Triopas lived to see his grand-daughter matched to Jupiter, as certainly he well might; then Io might marry him about seven or eight years before Jupiter's expedition into Arcadia; or if she was not grown up until

⁴ Hygin. Fab. 155; Apollod. lib. ii, c. i, sec. 3.

⁵ See vol. ii, b. vi.

⁶ Apollodor. Bib. lib. ii, c. 1.

⁷ Pausan. in Corinthiac. c. 16.

⁸ Castor. in Euseb. Chron.

⁹ See vol. ii, b. viii.

¹ Vid. Castor. in Chronic. Euseb.

some years after her grandfather's death, yet Jupiter's acquaintance with her proves very well his living in these times. 4. Minos is said to have been the son of Jupiter, born of Europa daughter of Agenor². This I am sensible is a false account of Minos, and therefore, though it might easily be made to coincide with the times of Jupiter, as Europa is generally said to have been the sister of Cadmus, yet, as it would not be a true account of Minos's ancestors, it would be trifling to offer any thing about it. The Minos so much talked of among the Greeks was contemporary with Dædalus³; and Dædalus was the son of Eupalamus⁴, who had a daughter that was married to the second Cecrops⁵; and his son Dædalus with Minos flourished about the time of Ægeus⁶, who reigned at Athens from A. M. 2697 to A. M. 2745⁷; so that this Minos lived about one hundred and fifty years after Moses's death. The placing this Minos about these times, agrees perfectly well with the accounts we have of his descendants down to the Trojan war; for he was in the third generation before that expedition; for the sons of Minos were Deucalion

² Apollod. Biblioth. lib. iii, c. 1; Hygin. Fab. 155.

³ Apollod. Biblioth. lib. iii, c. 14, sec. 5; Diod. Sic. lib. iv, c. 77.

⁴ Apoll. ibid.

⁵ Id. Ibid. lib. iii, c. 14, sec. 5.

⁶ Apoll. ibid.

⁷ Cecrops began his reign in Attica A. M. 2423; see vol. ii, b. viii. Count the years of the several reigns of the Attic kings in Chronic. Euseb. down to Ægeus, and Ægeus's reign will fall in the years I have allotted to it.

and Molus, and their sons Idomeneus and Meriones warred at Troy⁸. Sir John Marsham very judiciously observes from the hints of the ancient writers, that there were two Minos's; that the former was the grandfather of the latter; that the length of time and the inaccuracy of writers had caused them to be both taken for one man; and that their genealogy rightly stated would stand thus. Tectamus son of Dorus, Asterius son of Tectamus, Minos of Asterius, Lycastus of Minos, the second Minos of Lycastus, Deucalion of Minos, Idomeneus of Deucalion⁹. This is the true account of this family, and according to this account the first Minos stands five generations before the Trojan war; in the same line of descent before Idomeneus who warred at Troy, as Tros king of Troy does before Hector. And this agrees with what is related of this Minos, that he stole Ganymedes from Tros his father: for not Jupiter, but this Minos was anciently recorded to have committed that rape¹. Farther; this time of Minos agrees with what the marble records, that he reigned at Apollonia, A. M. 2573². Hellen, who was father of Dorus³, and therefore grand-

⁸ Diodorus Sic. lib. v, c. 79 : Homer. Il. v, ver. 245 ; Il. ε, ver. 650.

⁹ Marsham. Can. Chronic. p. 243.

¹ Εχεμενης γβν εν τοις Κρητικοις, ε τον Δια φησιν αρπασαι τον Γανυμηδην, αλλα Μινωα. Athenæus Deipnosophist. lib. xiii, p. 601.

² Marmor. Arundell. Epoch. 11.

³ Apollodor. Biblioth. lib. i, c. 7.

father of Tectamus, the progenitor of the family, was about Jupiter's age ; for Amphictyon, who was brother of Hellen⁴, succeeded Cranaus, and reigned at Athens in the year 2484⁵, *i. e.* about eight years after Jupiter's being in Arcadia. Now count down from Hellen to Idomeneus, who warred at Troy, and we have Hellen, Dorus, Tectamus, Asterius, Minos, Lycastus, Minos the second, Deucalion, and Idomeneus ; that is, nine generations from Hellen, who was contemporary with Jupiter, to the Trojan war. We find a generation more in the families of Thoas and of Diomedes above-mentioned, and a generation less in the family of Agasthenes. In the Arcadian roll of kings we have but seven descents from Nyctimus to Agapenor ; but agreeable to this, in another line of Hellen's descendants, we have exactly seven down from Hellen to Glaucus, who exchanged armour with Diomedes in the fields of Troy⁶ ; namely, Hellen, Æolus, Sisyphus, Glaucus, Bellerophon, Hippolochus, and Glaucus⁷, who commanded the Lycians⁸. Thus, allowing the difference arising from descents happening by the elder or the younger children, the true account of Minos's genealogy synchronizes with the descents in other families, and confirms the times of Jupiter agreeably to

⁴ Apollodor. Biblioth. lib. i, c. 7.

⁵ See vol, ii, b. viii.

⁶ Homer. Il. ζ, ver. 235.

⁷ Id. Il. ead. ver. 150—205.

⁸ Il. ζ, ver. 876.

them. 5. Lacedæmon was son of Jupiter and Taygete daughter of Atlas⁹; according to the marble Lacedæmon reigned at Laconia about A. M. 2489¹. The marble joins Eurotas and Lacedæmon together²; but Eurotas was really Lacedæmon's predecessor. Whether the composer of the Marble Chronicon apprehended his Epoch something too early for the reign of Lacedæmon, and by joining Eurotas with him intended to hint, that the year he fixed on fell in Lacedæmon's, or at most in Eurotas's reign; or whether he supposed Eurotas, at the time he mentions, took Lacedæmon into partnership of his kingdom, I cannot say: but take it either way, and the time of Lacedæmon's birth must prove that Jupiter lived in these times. If Lacedæmon was taken partner with Eurotas in his kingdom A. M. 2489, he might be a young man when thus admitted to reign with him, perhaps not thirty, and so might be born about A. M. 2460, and this year falls sixteen years before Jupiter's expedition to Arcadia. If the epoch rather belongs to Eurotas than to Lacedæmon's reign, still Lacedæmon must have been born about the time above-mentioned; though he waited some years, and was of riper age, when Eurotas left him his

⁹ Apollodor. Biblioth. lib. iii, c. 10; Hygin. Fab. 155; Pausan. in Laconic. c. 1.

¹ Marm. Arundell. Ep. viii.

² ΑΘ & Ευρωτας και Λακεδαιμων Λακωνικης εβασιλευσαν ετη ΧΗΗ|Δ|ΙΓ. βασιλευοντος 'Αθηνων 'Αμφικλυονος. Marmor. ibid.

kingdom³. Bacchus was son of Jupiter and Semele, daughter of Cadmus⁴. Now Cadmus came to Thebes, A. M. 2486⁵. Cadmus did not marry Harmonia the mother of Semele until after he was settled there⁶. Apollodorus suggests that eight years had passed before he married⁷. Semele born of these parents could not be grown up for Jupiter, until above twenty years after. Suppose her twenty-one when Jupiter fell in love with her, and we shall fix the time of this amour to about thirty years after Cadmus came to Thebes, to A. M. 2516. Jupiter was now an old man, for his son Mars was grown up, and tried, as has been said, before the court of Areopagus, forty-three years before this time. Jupiter therefore must now have been above ninety, perhaps about ninety-five; an age, we may think, too advanced for so gay an amour; but we must recollect the length of men's lives in these ages, and consider, that when Moses, who was Jupiter's contemporary, died at one hundred and twenty years of age, he had not lived until either *his eye was dim*, or *his natural force abated*⁸. Thus we find reason to suppose that Jupiter had been about ninety-five years old A. M. 2516, *i. e.* in the third year after the Israel-

³ — Ευρωταν, οτε δε, εν οντων αυτω παιδων αρρενων, βασιλευειν καταλειπει Λακεδαιμονα. Pausan. in Lacon. c. 1.

⁴ Hygin. Fab. 155; Apollodor. Biblioth. lib. iii, c. 4, sec. 2; Diodor. Sic. lib. iii, p. 186, lib. iv, p. 147.

⁵ See vol. ii, b. viii.

⁶ Diodor. Sic. lib. iv, c. 2.

⁷ Apollodor. Biblioth. lib. iii, c. 4, sec. 2.

⁸ Deut. xxxiv, 7.

ites' exit out of Egypt; and, consequently, that he was born about A. M. 2421; that he was about fifty-two when his son Mars was tried at Athens; about fifty-five when he made his expedition into Arcadia; about forty-eight when he courted the mother of Epaphus, and about thirty-eight when he addressed Taygete, of whom was born Lacedæmon. Now these particulars are all so probable in themselves, so consistent with one another, and supported by concurrent hints from such different writers, that instead of supposing a want of proof of the times of Jupiter, we have rather reason to be surprised, that so many such reasonable and concurring intimations can be picked up, to fix with any appearance of probability the epoch of a man, whose whole life and actions have been for ages disguised, by an almost infinite heap of fable blended with them; not to mention the defects of the ancient profane history, and the thousands of years between us and him.

I know nothing which can be objected to the placing Jupiter in this age, but some accounts we have in the mythological writers of persons said to be descended from him, who lived in ages later. Thus Jupiter is said to be the father of Hercules, born of Alcmena wife of Amphytryon⁹; of Castor and Pollux, born of Leda wife of Tyndareus¹; of Perseus, born of Danae daughter of Acrisius²; of

⁹ Hyg. Fab. et al.

¹ Id. *ibid.*

² Id. *ibid.*

Æacus the father of Telamon and Peleus³; of Arcesius the ancestor of Ulysses⁴, and of many others. Now, if he really was the father of any of these persons, he must have lived about three generations only before the Trojan war. Perseus was indeed about five descents before that expedition; but the other heroes I have named were grandfathers or contemporaries with the grandfathers or fathers of the warriors at Troy. But let us observe, that the mythologists recorded many of their heroes as being descended of the gods, though other persons were their real parents. Thus Autolycus was said to be the son of Mercury, when in truth Dædalion was his father⁵; and this happened either, 1. When a hero had borne the name of one, who had lived ages before him. In length of time, the father of the former came to be reputed the father of the latter; both being taken for but one and the same man. This was the case of Hercules: there were two of that name; one indeed a son of Jupiter⁶, who lived ages before the son of Alcmena⁷. But the latter Hercules having copied after the illustrious actions of the former, in length of time both were taken for one and the same person; and the his-

³ Apollod. lib. iii, c. 11, sec. 6; Ovid. Metam.

⁴ Ovid. *ibid.*

⁵ Αυτολυκος — λεγομενος δ' Ερμης παις ειναι, Δαιδαλιωνος δε ων τω αληθει λογω. Pausan. in Arcad. c. 4.

⁶ Diodor. lib. v, c. 76.

⁷ Ηρακλεα εκ Διου γενεσθαι παμπολλοις ετεσι προτερον τω γεννηθεντος εξ Αλκμηνης. Id. *ibid.*

tory and parentage of both ascribed to him⁸, and a fable was easily invented for the wife of Amphitryon being with child by Jupiter⁹. Or, 2. When Jupiter, Neptune, Mercury, and the other persons ranked with them came to be deified, princes and rulers thought it not only an honour, but good policy, and conducive to the management of their affairs, to derive their pedigree from some of them. Alexander the Great would have done it in his day¹, and reasons of state were his motives for it². Arrian thought he had as good a title to it as the more ancient heroes³; and if the matters were rightly considered, not to be blamed for attempting it.⁴ It raised them high in the common estimation; and they were reputed to have the greater influence, powers, and protection, the greater the

⁸ Τον δε εξ Αλκμήνης Ἡρακλεα παντελως νεωτερον οὔλα, και ξηλωτην γενομενον της τε παλαις προαιρεσεως, δια τας αυτας αιτιας τυχειν τε της αθανασιας, και χρονων εγγενομενων, δια την ομωνυμιαν δοξαι τον αυτον ειναι, και τας τε προτερη πραξεις εις τελον μεταπτεσιν, αγνοοντων των πολλων τ' αληθες. Diodor. lib. v, c. 76.

⁹ Vid. Apollodor. Biblioth. lib. ii, c. 4, sec. 8.

¹ Arrian. de Expedit. Alexand. lib. iii, c. 3; Plutarch. in Alexand; Quint. Curt. lib. v.

² Illud pene dignum risu fuit, quod Hermolaus postulat à me, ut aversarer Jovem, cujus oraculo agnoscor. — Obtulit nomen filii mihi: recipere ipsis rebus quas agimus haud alienum fuit: utinam Indi quoque Deum esse me credant: fama enim bella constant, et sæpe etiam, quod falso creditum est, veri vicem obtinuit. Curtius, lib. viii, sec. 8.

³ Arrian. lib. vii, p. 504.

⁴ Οτι δε εις θεον την γενεσιν την αυτη ανεφερεν, εδε τετο εμοι δοκει ειναι πλημμελημα, ει μη και σοφισμα ην τυχον ες της υπηκοας τε σεμνυε ενεκα. Arrian. ibid.

god was from whom they could derive their descent⁵. Thus Pausanias thought he might assert, that the son of Phoroneus would never have been esteemed equal to the son of Niobe, upon a supposition that Jupiter was Niobe's son's father⁶; and this was Homer's reason for Asteropæus not being able to cope with Achilles. Asteropæus was said to be only the descendant of a river god, but Achilles's pedigree was deduced from Jupiter⁷. It is easy to suppose, that when these opinions were in repute, kings and governors would be fond of ennobling themselves by the divinity of their ancestors; and they might find it no hard matter to succeed in their claims, when their statesmen and officers in the highest employments might think pretences of this sort, how ill-grounded soever, yet capable of promoting the public good, by the effect they might have upon both prince and people⁸. Their *vates* or their oracles could secure

⁵ χαλεπον τοι ερισθενεος Κρονιωνος
 Παισιν εριζεμεναι, Ποταμοιο, περ εκγεγαωτι.
 Τω κρειστων μεν Ζευς Ποταμων αλιμυρηνίλων,
 Κρειστων δ' αυτε Διος γενεη Ποταμοιο τετυκλαι.

Hom. Il. φ, ver. 184.

⁶ Εγω δε ευ οίδα, ως εκ εμελλεν ο παις αυτω Νιοβης παιδι
 ισα οισεσθαι, Διος τε ειναι δοκωντι. Pausan. in Corinthiac.
 c. 34.

⁷ Homer ubi sup.

⁸ Utile esse civitatibus, ut se viri fortes, etiamsi falsum sit, ex diis genitos esse credant: ut eo modo animus humanus, velut divinæ stirpis fiduciam gerens, res magnas aggrediendas præsumat audacius, agat vehementius, et ob hoc impleat ipsas securitate felicius. Varro in Fragment, p. 45. Λεγει δε και

them their title⁹; or history and genealogies being but little known in these times, it was easy to insert a god at the head of a family. There might be no necessity of going far back to do this with security; and some families were so fortunate, as to be divine this way by both parents; Ulysses's descendants shone with this double lustre¹. Or,

3. The gods were introduced into families to preserve their honour, to prevent the infamy of their ancestors coming down to posterity. Thus Tyro the daughter of Salmones had two children before she married, namely Pelias and Neleus the father of Nestor². She loved to walk upon the banks of Enipeus³; but we are not told who the gallant was, whom she so often met there. When she came to be delivered, she took care to be in private⁴, and got rid of the children in the best manner she could⁵; and was after reputably married⁶. Thus she behaved in every step like a person sen-

νυν ετος ο λογος αληθεια χρωμενος, ως οσων αν πολεων μη θεος, αλλα τις αρχη θνητος, εκ εσι κακων αυλοις εδε πονων αναψευξις. Plato de Legib. lib. iv, p. 830, Edit. Ficin.

⁹ Ουδε ζωνι 'Ηρακλει θειαι τιμαι εγενοντο, εδε τελευτησαντι προσθεν η προς τα θεα τα εν Δελφοις επιθεσπισθηναι ως θεον τιμαν 'Ηρακlea. Arrian. de Expedit. Alex. lib. iv.

¹ Nam mihi Laertes pater est, Arcesius illi,
Jupiter huic
Est quoque per matrem Cyllenius addita nobis
Altera nobilitas : Deus est in utroque parente.

OVID. METAM.

² Apollodor. Biblioth. lib. i, c. 9.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Γεννησασα κρυφα διδυμους. Ibid.

⁵ Παιδας εκτιθησιν Ibid.

⁶ Id. ibid.

sible of having exposed herself to infamy, but desirous to avoid it. Posterity derived honour to her descendants from the accident. Neptune was said to have been in love with her, and in the shape of the river Enipeus to have been the father of her two children⁷. Thus again Danae the daughter of Acrisius played the harlot with Proetus⁸, and her father, enraged at the dishonour done his family, would admit of no excuse for her misbehaviour, but exposed at sea both her and the infant⁹. In after-ages a fable was sufficient to clear her character; Jupiter was said to have been the father of her child, and to have wrought a miracle to gain access to her¹. The Greeks were not historians in the early times; and when their poets and mythologists began to dip into the registries of families, it would not have been borne to have had the vices of the ancestors of the great brought into open view; especially when writers of genius could readily, from the theology then in vogue and the fable of the age, find a reputable and secure cover for them. Now one or other of these reasons may evidently be assigned for the instances to be met with of any of the reputed gods of the heathens being engaged in gallantries with the ladies of later ages than about the times of Moses, and in particular for the several pre-

⁷ Apollodor. Biblioth. lib. i, c. 9.

⁹ Id. *ibid*.

⁸ Id. lib. ii, c. 4.

¹ *Ibid*.

tences of Jupiter's having descendants later than can be consistent with the time of life above supposed to belong to him.

There is, I think, one instance, which should not be entirely passed over without taking notice of it; which would place Jupiter not later, but a great deal earlier than his true age. Jupiter is said to have been the father of Argus by Niobe daughter of Phoroneus². This Argus succeeded Phoroneus, and was king of Argos³, and began to reign there one hundred and ten years after the first year of Inachus⁴, *i. e.* A. M. 2264⁵, which are one hundred and sixty-nine years before the birth of Moses; so that supposing Jupiter to be the father of this Argus, would be to place him above a century and half earlier than the times we have contended for. I might observe, that the most exact writers took this account of Argus's descent to be rather common opinion than real fact⁶. But there were two Argus's, one a king of Argos, who reigned there ages before Jupiter was born; the other was surnamed Panoptes, and lived in Jupiter's time, and Juno is said to have committed Io to his custody⁷, but neither of them were descended

² Hygin. Fab. 155.

³ Apollodor. Biblioth. lib. ii, c. 1, sec. 2.

⁴ Vid. Castor. in Euseb. Chronic.

⁵ For the first year of Inachus's reign was A. M. 2154. See vol. ii, b. vi.

⁶ Vid. Pausan. in Corinthiac. c. 22, c. 34.

⁷ Apollod. ubi sup.

from Jupiter. The former Argus was the son of Arestor; and hence Ovid was probably led into a mistake, thinking that Panoptes Argus, whom he calls Arestorides⁸, was the son of this parent. Arestor married Inachus's daughter⁹, and by her had Argus, who, upon Phoroneus leaving no son¹, succeeded to his kingdom. The latter Argus was son of Agenor, the son², or perhaps brother of Jasus³. Jasus, as had been said, was father of Io, one of Jupiter's concubines; so that this Argus and Jupiter were indeed contemporaries; though Argus was not descended from him. We must expect to meet some seeming contrarieties in the genealogies of these times⁴. But whoever will search may find such a concurrence in the accounts of so many different families, for the placing Jupiter where we have supposed him, and the solution is so easy of most, if not of all, that can be offered to contradict it, that if this of Argus or any other single instance could not be clearly refuted, yet it would not weigh against the number that agrees to it.

When Jupiter succeeded his father in his kingdom, he found his people in some measure disposed for civil life. Saturn had reduced them to

⁸ Ovid. *Metam.* lib. i, ver. 624. Arestoridæ servandam tradidit Argo.

⁹ Pausan. in *Corinth.* c. 16.

¹ Id. c. 34.

² Apollodor. *Biblioth.* lib. ii, c. 1.

³ Pausan. in *Corinth.* c. 16.

⁴ Οἱ μὲν δὲ Ἑλλήνων λόγοι διαφοροὶ τὰ πλεονα, καὶ ἔχῃ
 χρίσας ἐπὶ τοῖς γένεσιν εἰσι. Pausan. in *Arcadic.* c. 53.

some regularity, both of diet and manners⁵. Rites of religious worship were instituted, and rules thought of to promote the peace of society⁶. Care had been taken to form their language and their sentiments⁷; by which means a sense of duty to their gods, and a good understanding, and spirit of justice and integrity were promoted amongst them towards one another⁸. All this Saturn had done, not by rigour of power and compulsion, not by laws established with penal sanctions⁹, without magistrates to enforce his dictates¹, or to execute vengeance upon or restrain offenders. He had trained them to a simplicity of manners; and they were led by the influence and authority of his direction only to pursue and practise what he dictated for the public good². And the great peace

⁵ Της καθ' εαυτον ανθρωπος εξ αγριε διαιτης εις βιον ημερον μετασθαι. Diodorus Sic. lib. v, c. 66.

⁶ Μαντειας και θυσιας και θεσμους της περι των θεων εισεγησασθαι, και τα περι την ευνομιαν και ειρηνην καταδειξαι. Id. ibid.

⁷ Λογισμους ευρειν, και τας των ονοματων θεσεις. Id. c. 67.

⁸ Εισηγησασθαι απασι τηντε δικαιοσυνην, και την απλοτητα της ψυχης. Id. c. 66.

⁹ Sponte sua sine lege fidem rectumque colebat,
Pœna metusque aberant; nec vincla minantia ferro
Ære ligabantur

OVID. METAM.

¹ nec supplex turba timebat
Judicis ora sui, sed erant sine iudice tuti.

Id. ibid.

Δια την υπερβολην της ευνομιας, αδικημα μεν μηδεν ολως υπο μηδενοσ συντελεισθαι, παντας δε της υπο την ηγηνμονιαν

and quiet, ease and content in which they lived, sensible of no wants, but what they had a supply for, induced posterity to call their times the golden age³. When Jupiter became king, he brought in a new scene of life and action. He taught his people to build houses⁴; to gather corn, which until then had grown wild among the other fruits of the earth⁵, and to preserve and use it for food, and afterwards to sow and reap it in its season⁶. He introduced a sense of property, appointed magistrates to dispense justice, and directed his subjects to bring their differences and disputes before them, and to submit to their determina-

τατα τεταγμενος μακαριον βιον εζηκεναι, πασης ηδονης ανεμπο-
δισως απολαυοντας. Diodor. Sic. lib. v, c. 66.

³ Ovid. Metam.; Hesiod. Εργ. και Ημερ. Diodor. ubi sup.

⁴ Των οικιων κατασκευην ευρειν. Diodor.

Tum primum subiere domos, domus antra fuerunt,
Et densi frutices, et junctæ cortice virgæ.

OVID. METAM.

⁵ Diodor. lib. v, c. 66. In Saturn's days,

Contenti cibus nullo cogente creatis,
Arbuteos fœtus montanaque fraga legebant,
Cornaque, et in duris hærentia mora rubetis,
Et quæ deciderant patula Jovis arbore glandes . . .

OVID.

⁶ Και την κατεργασιαν αυτε, (σιτε,) και φυλακην επινοησαι
και σπειρειν καταδειξαι. Diodor. ubi sup.

Semina tum primum longis Cerealia sulcis
Obruta sunt

OVID.

tions⁷. Under his encouragement, the arts of working diver sorts of metals were attempted⁸; arms were invented for a soldiery, and men were trained and disciplined for war⁹. Shooting with the bow was much practised¹; improvements were made in navigation²; and endeavours used for taming and managing of horses³. Rules were agreed upon for nursing and educating children⁴; music and physic were considerably advanced⁵; and decent rites appointed for the funerals of the dead⁶. Thus by a variety of useful designs he was adding strength and beauty, ornament and polite-

⁷ Πρωτον μὲν γὰρ ἀπαντῶν καταδείξαι περὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων τὸ δίκαιον ἀλλήλοις διδοῖναι τὰς ἀνθρωπείας, καὶ τὰ εἰς τι πρᾶττεῖν ἀποσησάιν κρῖναι δὲ καὶ δικάσσειν τὰς ἀμφισβητήσεις διαλύειν. — Diod. lib. v, c. 71.

⁸ Λέγουσιν εὐρετὴν γενέσθαι τῆς περὶ τὸν σιδήρον ἐργασίας ἀπάσης καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν χαλκὸν καὶ χρυσοῦν καὶ ἀργυροῦν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα τὴν ἐκ τῆς πυρὸς ἐργασίαν ἐπιδέχεται. Diodor. lib. v, c. 74.

⁹ Πρωτον κατασκευασαὶ πανοπλίαν, καὶ στρατιώτας καθοπλίσαι, καὶ τὴν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἐναγωνίον εὐεργεσίαν εἰσηγγασθαι. Id. *ibid*.

¹ Εὐρετὴν δὲ καὶ τὰ τοῦ βεβημένου γενομένου διδάξαι τὰς ἐγγυρῖας τὰ περὶ τὴν τοξείαν. Id. *ibid*. c. 69.

² Πρωτον χρῆσασθαι ταῖς καλὰ θάλασσαν ἐργασίαις. Id.

³ Προσαπλῖναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ τῆς ἵππου δαμάσαι πρῶτον. *Ibid*.

⁴ Εὐρεῖν τὴν τῶν νηπίων παιδίων θεραπείαν. c. 73.

⁵ Τῆς κιθάρης εὐρετὴν ἀναγορευοῦναι, καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὴν μουσικῆς· ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν ἰατρικὴν ἐπιστῆμην ἐξενεγκεῖν. *Ibid*. c. 74.

⁶ Λέγεται τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς καὶ τὰς ἐκφορὰς καὶ τιμὰς τῶν τεθνεώτων καταδείξαι, τὸν πρὸ τῆς χρόνου, μηδεμίας ὥσθης ἐπιμελείας περὶ αὐτὰς. *Ibid*.

ness to his kingdom; for the increase of which he in the next place attempted a correspondence with foreign states; to which end he assigned to one of his sons the office of embassies, and made him his herald to proclaim peace or war, and to conduct his treaties and alliances with the neighbouring kingdoms⁷. By these arts, Jupiter endeavoured to cultivate his people; though we must not imagine that any of them were in his time carried up to perfection, like what they were brought to in after-ages; nor that so many and such divers designs could be set on foot by him at once. The persons recorded as his assistants, and who presided in their respective provinces over the designs committed to their management, were Neptune and Pluto his brothers, Juno his wife, Vesta and Ceres his sisters, Vulcan, Mars, Apollo, Mercury, Venus, Diana, and Minerva his children⁸, and afterwards Bacchus became the author of inventions, which caused his name to be added to them⁹. Jupiter must have been of years of maturity, before he could be ripe for forming such a kingdom as he projected; and consequently his children must be grown up for the employment he designed them.

⁷ Τω και προσαπίεσι τας εν τοις πολεμοις γινομενας επικηρυκειας και διαλλαγας και σπονδας. Diodor. Sic. lib. v, c. 75.

⁸ Id. c. 69, 70, &c.

⁹ Διονυσον δε μυθολογουν ευρετην γενεσθαι τες αμπελς και της περι ταυτην εργασις, ετι δε οινωποιίας, και τες πολλης των εκ της οπωρας καρπων αποδησαυριζειν, και τας χρειας, και τας τροφας παρεχεσθαι τοις ανθρωποις επι πολυν χρονον. Id. c. 75.

We must suppose that he did not assign them their provinces, and consequently that the arts, of which they were the directors, were not remarkably advanced, until they were of age to cultivate and conduct them; and if we examine, we shall find, that a due time for all these particulars may be very well pointed out in the term of Jupiter's life, as we have above settled it. Pluto, one of Jupiter's brothers, was appointed not only to direct what rites and ceremonies should be used at funerals, but also to declare what honours should be paid to persons deceased¹, in order to convey their names, according to their deserts, down to posterity. And as Jupiter took care himself to settle the measure of his own fame², and of the illustrious³ persons engaged with him in the execution of his designs, as well as to determine what sort of honours should be decreed to those who came after them⁴; it might well happen, that Jupiter and his associates should come down to after-ages in a degree of honour higher than what any who lived after them could attain to, or than what would be given to any of his ancestors or other contemporaries; he having thus settled both his own and their fame in such manner and measure, as he and the person under his direction thought fit to record it. From hence it might happen, that when the ancient

¹ Λεγεται τιμας των τεθνεωτων καταδειξαι. Diod. lib. v, c. 69.

² Vid. Diodor. c. 69.

³ Eund. ibid.

⁴ Τον εν Δια, λεγεται. τοις αριστοις των τε θεων και ηρωων, επι δε ανδρων τας αξιας απανειμαι τιμας, &c. Diod. c. 71.

Greek heroes came to be reputed gods, twelve only attained the highest honours. They had their one common altar at Athens⁵, and it was usual to swear by them⁶. The Romans called them the *Dī consentes*⁷, which word is supposed to mean the same as *consentientes*, and to intimate that these gods consulted and agreed together about what was to be done, and so, as has been hinted, the twelve Cretan worthies did about their public institutions. The Cretan worthies above-mentioned were six men and six women; and thus the *Dī consentes* were generally distinguished, as Varro suggests⁸. Ennius has put the names of the twelve *Dī consentes* into the following distich,

Juno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars,
Mercurius, Jovis, Neptunus, Vulcanus, Apollo.

And these are the very names of the twelve illustrious persons, by whose joint endeavours the ancient Cretan⁹ polity was formed. They were enrolled with, and subordinate to Jupiter their president, in the roll of fame, settled for him and

⁵ Περι των Ξωμων τον δωδεκα θεων. Plut. in Nicia, p. 531.

⁶ Μα της δωδεκα θεας. Aristoph.

⁷ Et quoniam (ut aiunt) Dei facientes adjuvant, prius invocabo eos: nec ut Homerus et Ennius, Musas, sed xii Deos consentes. Varro de Re Rustica, lib. i, c. 1.

⁸ —Eos urbanos, quorum imagines ad forum auratæ stant, sex mares et fœminæ totidem — Id. ibid.

⁹ For Juno is the person, whom Diodorus calls Ειλειθυια, or Lucina. Ειλειθυιαν δε λαβειν την περι τας τικτησας επιμελειαν. Diodor. c. 73; Juno Lucina, fer opem; Ter. in Andria, Act. iii, Scen. 1.

them in the age when they lived; and hence it came to pass, that when he, in after-ages, came to have divine honours paid to him, they also, next to him, were revered above other deities.

We must not suppose that Jupiter found a ready and universal concurrence of all the Cretans to submit to his institutions. Undoubtedly he met with many oppositions, though in time he surmounted all; which, I think, we may well suppose, from the character of his times handed down to us. He was at the head of only the silver age¹. The commotions, which were in his days, give the poets a pretence to paint, in the best of colours, the great peace of his father's reign, when wars and fightings² were not heard of; and to say of Jupiter's times, *that the former days were better*, though they did not judge *wisely concerning this matter*³. After-ages felt still greater troubles; so that Jupiter's times were happier than what followed⁴, though they were not thought to be without alloy. The ancient writers hint, that many of the descendants of his ancestors lived under his

¹ Sub Jove mundus erat, subiitque argentea proles.

OVID. METAM.

² In Saturn's reign,

Non tuba directi, non æris cornua flexi,
Non galeæ, non ensis erat, sine militis usu
Mollia securæ peragebant otia gentes.

OVID. MET.

³ Eccles. vii. 10.

⁴ Though Jupiter's age was thought to be *auro deterior*, yet it was *fulvo pretiosior ære*. Ovid. ubi sup.

government, or were in alliance with him. The Curetes, who were descended from his grandfather's brother⁵, lived with their families in his kingdom. Their dwellings were in groves and shady valleys; they were shepherds and managers of cattle⁶. He had part of his education among them⁷, and we may suppose them well affected to him, and ready to support him with all their influence and strength in executing the designs, for which they in some measure had perhaps formed him⁸. The Centimani lived, as I have observed, in Tartarus⁹. They were in alliance with Jupiter; for he sent his captives in war to them, and they sent him out¹ of their dominions such persons as he might want or could be of service to him. The Cyclops were his artificers, and made him armour and instruments of war for his soldiery². The only considerable families that opposed him, were the Titans, who were brothers of his father Saturn³, and their dependants, and the children of

⁵ Diodor. lib. iii, c. 61.

⁶ Id. lib. v, c. 65.

⁷ Id. c. 70; Apollod. Bibl. lib. i, c. 1, sec. 3.

⁸ The pastoral life was in high esteem in the early times; and it was not thought foreign to the education of a prince, for him to be in some measure acquainted with the arts of it. Xenophon says, Παραπλησία έργα είναι νομῶς αγαθὸν καὶ βασιλεὺς αγαθόν. τόντε γὰρ νομέα χρῆναι, εἴη, εὐδαιμόνα τα κτήνη ποιῶντα χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς, τόντε βασιλεὺς ὡσαύτως εὐδαιμόνας πολεῖς καὶ ἀνθρώπους ποιῶντα χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς. Xenoph. de Institut. Cyri, lib. viii.

⁹ Vid. quæ sup.

¹ Apoll. lib. i, c. 2.

² Ibid.

³ Diodor. lib. v, c. 66; Apoll. lib. i.

Ops, who were the giants of their age and country⁴. With the Titans, we are told, he had a ten years' war⁵; but that at length he took them prisoners, and sent them to Tartarus⁶. Diodorus Siculus gives an excellent character of these men⁷; and Homer feigns that they had become the gods of the country⁸ into which they were sent as captives. Pausanias indeed remarks, that Homer was the first who said this of them⁹; but probably he might be led to it by some opinion of their having been useful persons in the place where they lived, agreeable to what Diodorus afterwards thought of them. When the Titans were no longer able to head the opposition, Jupiter soon composed matters with their children. He married several of their daughters; and their sons removed out of Crete, and planted kingdoms in other lands. With the giants Jupiter had several engagements. These men would not be tied down to any social laws; they took for their subsistence what the earth afforded, wherever they could find it, and the im-

⁴ Apoll. lib. i, c. 6.

⁵ Apoll. lib. i. c. 2.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ ὡν ἑκάστον τινῶν εὐρετὴν γενεσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ διὰ τὴν εἰς ἀπανίας εὐεργεσίαν τυχεῖν τιμῶν καὶ μνημῆς αἰέναν. Diodor, lib. v, c. 66.

⁸ Θεὸς δ' ὀνομήσεν ἀπανίας
Τῆς ὑποταρταρεως, οἱ Τιτῆνες καλεοῦνται.

Il. ξ, ver. 279.

⁹ Τιτανὰς δὲ πρῶτος εἰς ποιήσιν ἐσηγάγεν Ὀμηρος, θεὸς εἶναι σφας ὑπὸ τῷ καλεσμένῳ Ταρταρῷ. Pausan. in Arcad. c. 37.

provements made in Jupiter's dominions invited them to frequent incursions, to plunder the inhabitants. They would come under no direction of Jupiter's appointments for the preservation of property, but took away from those who lived near their dwellings whatever they had a mind for¹; so that there could be no public safety until a stop could be put to this licentiousness, which in a little time was effected by the death of thesemen, who were all slain by Jupiter and his associates².

When Jupiter had settled his affairs in Crete, he and his worthies obtained for themselves great fame in foreign lands. Diodorus says, they travelled over almost the whole world³; but their visiting the cities and states of Greece was enough to cause this report of them. There were several kingdoms growing up in these countries at this time; but the political arts were here only in their infancy; and so great a master of them as Jupiter, from what has been said of him, must appear to have been, may very well be supposed to be capable of instructing others in many points conducive to their public welfare. He and his agents were at all times ready to assist, with their persons or advice, any kingdom which thought fit to apply to them; and they always acquitted themselves so

¹ Σωματος υπεροχαις και ρωμαις πεποιθοτας καταδυσσασθαι μεν πλησιοχωρους, απειθειν δε τς δικαιοι τιθεμενοις νομοις. Diocl. lib. v, c. 71.

² Apollod, Biblioth. lib. i. c. 6.

³ Επελθειν την οικεμενην σχεδον απασαν. Diocl. lib. v, c. 71.

honourably to the several states which had made them application, and were so signally useful and beneficial to them, that a great sense of the good they had done went down to posterity; and in after-ages, when they were deified, each city took for its tutelary divinity some one of these Cretans, him or her, to whom their ancestors had been obliged in this manner. This is what Apollodorus suggests, who says, the gods chose their cities, in which each was to have their particular honours⁴; thus Minerva became the deity of the Athenians⁵, Juno of Samos⁶, and others the gods of other cities. I would observe, that the time which Apollodorus fixes for this choice of their favourite cities, suits exactly with the age in which we place Jupiter. He says, it was in the days of Cecrops⁷, probably a little before his death, about A. M. 2472⁸. Neptune and Minerva went at this time to Attica; but they differed when they came there in their advice to the Athenians. Neptune thought their situation ought to direct them to sea affairs; Minerva was for having them lay the foundation of their prosperity upon other arts. We are told that Neptune and Minerva were so warm in this contest, that Jupiter came over to decide it⁹; and that Minerva's advice was at length agreed to be taken,

⁴ Ἐδοξε τοῖς θεοῖς πόλεις καταλαβεσθαι, ἐν αἷς ἐμελλον εἶχειν τιμὰς ἰδίας ἑκάστος. Apollod. lib. iii, c. 13.

⁵ Id. ibid.; Plutarch. Sympos. lib. ix, Qu. 6.

⁶ Plutarch. ibid.

⁷ Apoll. ubi sup.

⁸ Cecrops died A. M. 2473; see vol. ii, b. 8.

⁹ Apollod. ubi sup.

and thus Athens came to be reputed her city¹. Mars at this time was probably amongst other attendants upon Jupiter; as Halirrothius the son of Neptune might come with his father. Agraulos, one of the daughters of Cecrops, was given to Mars to be his wife; but Halirrothius attempted to force her, upon which Mars killed him²; and for this crime Mars was tried in the court of Areopagus, A. M. 2473³. Thus as to time, the several hints we have of the lives and actions of these men do perfectly well agree with what is above fixed for their epoch.

About the year of the world 2476, Jupiter, as has been before hinted, made an expedition into Arcadia where Lycaon was king, a prince of some fame, and surrounded with a numerous offspring⁴, but of most savage manners, and shed human blood at his sacrifices⁵. He received Jupiter with an appearance of hospitality; but at the entertainment, the body of a child was served up to the table⁶. Jupiter, moved at the sight of such a preparation, with the help of his attendants attacked Lycaon⁷, who is said to have been turned into a wolf⁸; and some learned writers have imagined, that a frantic madness seized him, and that he died of a distemper which might

¹ Apoll. ubi. sup.

² Apollod. ibid.

³ Id. ibid. ; Marm. Arundell. Ep. 3 ; see vol. ii. b. 8.

⁴ Pausan. in Arcadicis ; Apollod. Biblioth. lib. iii. c. 8.

⁵ Id. ibid.

⁶ Pausan. in Arcad. ; Apoll. ibid.

⁷ Apoll. ubi sup.

⁸ Pausan. ubi sup.

countenance this fiction⁹. I rather think, that he fell by the hand of Jupiter¹; and that the fable of his being turned into a wolf was invented ages after his death. By a hint we have in Pausanias, it seems as if the Arcadians did not leave off their barbarous custom of eating human flesh, at the death of Lycaon; for he tells us of a man, some years after Lycaon, who was turned into a wolf for ten years, upon his partaking of a banquet of human flesh; and adds, that if in that ten years he had not entirely abstained from such food, he must have continued a wolf all his life after². Plato treats the representation of this person being turned into a wolf as a fable, and moralizes it to express his having been a tyrant, such a one being indeed as a wolf to his people³. In length of time, the Arcadians extinguished from among their people the savage appetite above mentioned; and perhaps the method by which they reformed them was by an annual commemoration of the benefits they had received from the hands of Jupiter. In after-ages they erected an altar to him by the name of Lycæus, and instituted the Lupercalia to his honour; and when they performed the services appointed at this solemnity, perhaps the barbarities of Lycaon, and of some other person, who was af-

⁹ The learned writers, who were of this opinion, are cited by the late Lord Bishop of Durham, in his most excellent Vindication of his Defence of Christianity, p. 25.

¹ Vid. Apollod.

² Pausan. in Arcadicis, c. 2.

³ Plato de Repub. lib. viii, p. 724.

terwards for ten years not unlike him, might be recited to the people in such a manner as to occasion the fable, which was told afterwards respecting both. Pausanias, as well as Apollodorus, supposed that Jupiter had really been a deity at the time of these transactions⁴. Pausanias supposes that Lycaon himself had at this time been a worshipper of Jupiter, that he had dedicated the altar, and instituted the Lupercalia⁵. But the Marble suggests a more probable time for the rise both of the games and altar; namely, in the reign of Pandion the son of the second Cecrops, who was king of Athens above two hundred years after the time of Lycaon⁶. Pausanias and Apollodorus had neither of them formed a true judgment of the progress of the heathen idolatries; nor were they apprised, that the Greeks did not worship hero-gods in these ages; but that the elements and lights of heaven were at this time the objects of their devotion⁷. Jupiter himself paid his worship to these gods; and offered his sacrifices to the sun, to the heaven, and to the earth⁸; so that it must be impossible, that whilst Jupiter was alive, and known to be but a mortal man, and was himself a worshipper of

⁴ Pausan. in Arcadic; Apollod. Biblioth. lib. iii, c. 8.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Marmor. Arundell. Ep. 18.

⁷ Φαίνονται μὲν οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τέτρες μόνες θεὸς ἡγεῖσθαι, ὥσπερ νῦν πολλοὶ τῶν Βαρβάρων, ἥλιον, καὶ σελήνην, καὶ γῆν, καὶ ἀστρά, καὶ ἄρανον. Plat. in Cratylus.

⁸ Πρὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης πρὸς τὰς γιγάντας τὰς ἐν Κρήτῃ, λέγεται τὸν Δία θυσαί ἡλίῳ καὶ ἄρᾳ καὶ γῇ. Diodor. lib. v, c. 71.

divinities of a superior nature, any king or people whatever could think him a god, and erect altars and offer sacrifices to him. We cannot at this distance of time form any certain judgment of the then state of the Arcadians: but from the stay which Jupiter made in this country, from the apparent good understanding between him and Lycaon's children, and from the honour which the Arcadians paid to his memory in after-ages, we may justly suppose, that Lycaon's cruelties had made both his children and subjects weary of him; that they were all ripe for a revolt, and that Jupiter found it no hard matter to deliver his subjects out of his hand, and settle their affairs to their universal satisfaction. Apollodorus indeed reports that all the sons of Lycaon, except Nyctimus, had been killed by Jupiter⁹; but from Pausanias this appears not to have been fact; for after Lycaon's death they separated into divers parts of the country, and built each his city, except Oenotrus, who went away with a colony into Italy¹. Nyctimus succeeded Lycaon in his kingdom²; and Jupiter stayed some time with him, and probably assisted him in settling his affairs, and during his stay courted Callistho sister of Nyctimus³, of whom was born Arcas, who, at the death of Nyctimus, was made king of Arcadia⁴.

Jupiter and his whole family were at Thebes in

⁹ Apollod. ubi sup.

¹ Pausan. in Arcad.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Pausan. et Apollod.

Bœotia at the wedding of Cadmus⁵. Jupiter then gave Harmonia to Cadmus, to be his wife; for Harmonia was not the daughter of Mars and Venus, as many of the ancient writers suggest⁶, but the daughter of Jupiter and sister of Dardanus⁷. Cadmus married about eight years after he came to Thebes⁸; so that his wedding was celebrated about A.M. 2494; in which year therefore Jupiter and his Cretan worthies made him this visit. About one or two and twenty years after, when Semele, who was born of this marriage, was grown up, Jupiter came to Thebes again, and grew enamoured with Semele. The mythologists say of Semele, that she wished to find Jupiter's embraces such as Juno had experienced them⁹. Semele was very young when Jupiter addressed her; but Jupiter was above ninety years old¹. Semele might not be fond of the disparity of his years; but would have liked him better, if he had been no older than when he married Juno. However, she was with child by him, and probably died of hard labour at the birth

⁵ Apollod. lib. iii, c. 4.

⁶ Id. ibid. sec. 2; Pausan. in Bœot. c. 5; Hygin. Fab. 148.

⁷ Vid. Diodor. Sic. lib. v. c. 48.

⁸ Vid. Apollod. lib. iii, c. 4.

⁹ Vid. Diodor. Sic. lib. iii, c. 64.

..... Qualem Saturnia, dixit,
Te solet amplecti, Veneris cum fœdus initis,
Da mihi te talem

OVID. METAM.

¹ Vid. quæ sup.

of Bacchus; and her being thus lost, and the child preserved, added to some such story as I have suggested, about the difference between her age and Jupiter's, was ground enough for the mythologists to invent all they offer about the death of Semele, and the birth of the Grecian Bacchus².

We are not told how long Jupiter lived, nor who succeeded him in his Cretan dominions; and I am apt to think, that when he died, no one person became king of the whole island. The brazen age came next after the silver times of Jupiter³; an age of great wars and commotions in the then known world⁴. Colonies about this time marched from many countries to find settlements; and Crete seems to have been invaded by some of them⁵, and not united again under one head until the days of Minos⁶. And the unsettled state the island might come into by this new scene, might occasion a failure of its history as to the death of Jupiter, and the illustrious persons who had acted with him; though the records of their great exploits, settled before their deaths, might come down to all posterity. After-ages took Jupiter for a god, nay for the supreme God of both Heaven and Earth⁷; and when these notions of him took place, whatever memoirs there might have been found of his having once been a mere man, would of course be disre-

² Diodor. ubi sup.; Ovid. Metam.

³ Hesiod. Εργ. και Ημερ. lib. i.

⁵ Diodor. Sic. lib. v, c. 80.

⁷ Vid. Hesiod. Homer. et al.

⁴ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

garded, and in time lost. The Cretans pretended, that they had in their country the tomb of Jupiter³; but Callimachus thought that the divinity of Jupiter was a sufficient confutation of all they had to offer about it: he says,

Κρητες αι ψευσαι· και γαρ ταφον, ω ανα, σειο
Κρητες ετεκληναντο· συ δ' ε θανες, εσσι γαρ αιει⁹.

Whether the Cretans had really such a monument as was pretended, or whether what the Scholiast writes was the fact, we cannot say. The Scholiast upon Callimachus remarks, that the inscription of the monument was originally ΜΙΝΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ ΤΑΦΟΣ, *i. e.* the tomb of Minos son of Jupiter; that length of time had worn out the word ΜΙΝΩΣ, so that the remaining part was only ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ ΤΑΦΟΣ, or what we in English should render, the tomb of Jupiter, and that the unobserving reader, not taking notice of the word, which time had defaced, took it for Jupiter's sepulchre, when it was only that of Minos, who had the honour of being thought to be descended from him¹.

If we consider Jupiter's politics, we must allow him to have been a man of as great natural wisdom and sagacity as perhaps any age ever produced. His father Saturn had taken some steps towards civilizing the people; in whose days, the forming

³ Cretensem, Saturni filium, cujus in illa insula sepulchrum ostenditur. Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. iii, c. 21.

⁹ Callimach. Hymn. i. in Jovem. v, 8.

¹ Vid. Marsham. Can. Chron. p. 243.

a language and introducing a method of reasoning was made a science²; and undoubtedly a rational foundation might be thus laid for government and society. Good maxims³ might be agreed upon for a right way of thinking; or, in other words, good principles instilled, and an uninformed populace led insensibly to sentiments conducive to peace and good order. But all the happiness which might this way be promoted, would not, without farther methods to establish and support it, have been either of large extent or long continuance. When Saturn opened to his people the prospects of the golden age, the scene was new, a scene of plenty without trouble; and I apprehend there could be no great difficulty in leading men to like it. He reduced them from a savage to a human diet⁴,

Sylvestres homines

Cædibus et fædo victu deterruit⁵

He persuaded them not to eat and devour one another; but to live in peace and security, and enjoy the plenty, which from the living⁶ creatures,

² Φασι Μνημοσυνην λογισμους ευρειν, και τας των ονοματων θεσεις εκασω των οντων ταξαι. Diodor. Sic. lib. v, c. 67.

³ Αι γαρ αμεσοι προτασεις αρχαι. Aristot. Analyt. post. lib. i, c. 32.

⁴ Ανθρωπους εξ αγριε διαιτης εις Ξιον ημερον μετασθησαι. Diod. c. 66.

⁵ Horat lib. de Arte Poetic.

⁶ The poets imagine, that men ate no flesh in their golden age: thus Ovid,—

At vetus illa ætas, cui fecimus aurea nomen,

and the natural fruits of the earth, their island would afford in abundance for them all. But this happiness must have had an end. As their numbers increased, their flocks and herds, not duly managed, would have failed; the natural produce of the isle, not improved by tillage, would have been eaten up, and the land in time would not have been sufficient to bear them. This was what Jupiter had to provide against, and in order to it he settled property, introduced arts, brought his people to be willing to quit the ease and inactivity of Saturn's halcyon days, and to engage in a variety of cares and labours, each in his own province, that improvements might be made, a plenty produced of all the conveniences of life, and a due course settled, for their circulating in a proper method to all sorts and ranks of men. Now this was a scene of life, which though reason would clearly point to, yet argument alone would not have been able to maintain against opposers. We find, that when the limitations of property were introduced into society, the *ασεβεις* and the *λησαι*⁷, men, who would not be tied down to them, appeared in every country. These men

*Fœtibus arboreis, et quas humus educat herbis
Fortunata fuit, nec polluit ora cruore.*

METAM.

But I imagine, that this was not true of the days of Saturn. The heathen writers found memoirs of men's having anciently lived on a vegetable diet; and for want of true history they affirmed of many subsequent ages, what perhaps was fact only until the days of Noah.

⁷ Diodor. Sic. lib. v.

would have argued, that themselves had natural rights to the common life, and all Saturn's art of reasoning and persuading might not have prevailed upon them to depart from it. But Jupiter had a genius for business as well as for speculation; and knew how both to project what was ^fproper to be agreed upon, and to give his schemes full effect among the people; and in order hereto, 1. He married the lady, who had the province of forming the reasonings of the Cretans^g, which undoubtedly was a wise step; for hereby he secured himself, that nothing should proceed from her art to oppose or contradict him; rather he became able to dispose all her influence and art to promote the purposes which he intended. 2. In the next place, he gathered a soldiery, and disciplined them for war^o. He provided himself power, to give weight to his directions, to protect all that would come into them, and to discourage and suppress those that might oppose him. 3. But he did not exercise this power so as to render himself odious; but rather gained the affections of his people by his use of it. He appointed magistrates, and communicated a share of his authority, and this in a manner so popular, that though he was the first who appears in this country to have had any true power to govern, yet he obtained the character of an opposer of tyranny, and was thought not to

^g Diodor. lib. v, c. 68; Apollodor. Biblioth. lib. i, c. 3; Hesiod. *Σεργον*.

^o Diodor. c. 74.

advance the prerogative of kings, but to be a promoter of the liberties of the people¹. 4. Jupiter appointed his wife Juno and his children to teach the several arts and sciences which were necessary for the improvement of his people; and Diodorus Siculus has recounted to us the several provinces which belonged to each of them². 5. His brother Neptune³ had the care of his navy. 6. Pluto had the province of determining what ceremonies should be used at funerals, and what honours should be decreed to dead persons, who had deserved well of the public⁴. Thus all were excited to endeavour to promote the public welfare, and by rewards of the greatest influence over the most active spirits⁵, and the most likely to raise an emulation, to support the government⁶, rather than be the means of enabling any to weaken and undermine it. 7. He diligently watched over and severely punished every attempt which might be made by

¹ Ἐπελθεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν οἰκημένην σχεδὸν ἀπασαν — ἰσοτήτα καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν εἰσηγούμενον. Diodorus, lib. v, c. 71. Κρονὺς δὲ γενομένου υἱὸν Δία τὸν ἐναντίον τῷ πατρὶ εἶον ζῆλωσαι, καὶ παρεχόμενον ἑαυτὸν πᾶσιν ἐπιεικὴ καὶ φιλανθρωπον, &c. Diodor. lib. iii, c. 61.

² Diodor. lib. v.

³ Ibid. c. 69.

⁴ Τὸν δὲ Ἀθῆν, λέγεται τιμᾶς τῶν τεθνεωτῶν καταδειξαι. Ibid. Τὸν ἐν Δία λεγούσι μὴ μόνον ἀρθεῖν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισαὶ τὰς ἀσεβεῖς καὶ πονηρὰς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰς ἀξίας ἀπονείμει τιμᾶς. Id. c. 71.

⁵ Οἱ μὲν ἐν πολλοὶ ἀνδραποδῶδεις φαίνονται βροσκημάτων εἶον προαιρθεμένοι — οἱ δὲ χαριέντες καὶ πρακτικοὶ τιμῇ. Aristot. de Morib. lib. i, c. 3.

⁶ Vid. Polyb. Hist. lib. vi, c. 4.

any private man, to disengage his people from a strict adherence to the public institutions; and therefore made an example of the unhappy Prometheus, who ventured to teach men the arts of which he was master, without having obtained a public appointment for his teaching them.

I am sensible, that the mythologists have so disguised the story of Prometheus, by their manner of telling it, that it may be thought impossible to ascertain what was in fact either, his crime or his punishment. But let us examine and then judge of what they say about it. Hyginus relates, that before Prometheus, men were wont to ask for fire from Heaven, and did not know how to keep it from going out, when they had it; that Prometheus brought it down to the Earth on a ferula⁷, and taught men to preserve it in ashes; that Mercury hereupon, at the command of Jupiter, nailed him down to Caucasus, and set an eagle to eat his heart, which grew by night as the eagle eat it by day; that after thirty years⁸ Hercules killed the eagle, and set Prometheus at liberty. Thus Hyginus relates the fable of Prometheus⁹; he has enlarged it,

⁷ The commentators upon the Greek poets seem to have thought the *ναρθηξ*, or *ferula*, a sort of tinder-box, *εσι γαρ πυρος οντως φυλακτικος ο ναρθηξ, ηπιαν εχων μαλακοτητα και τρεφειν το πυρ, και μη αποσβεγνυναι δυναμενην*. Procl. ad Hesiod. *Εργ. και Ημερ.* and perhaps Hyginus was of this opinion. He says that Prometheus, after he had got the fire, *lætus volare non currere videretur, ferulam jactans ne spiritus interclusus vaporis extingueret in angustia lumen*. Poetic. Astronom. c. xv.

⁸ In another place he says thirty thousand years. Astronom. c. xv.

⁹ Hyg. Fab. 144.

in some circumstances, in his astronomy¹. According to this account, the teaching men how to kindle fire seems to have been what Prometheus was famous for; and this opinion may seem to be countenanced by a hint of Diodorus Siculus²; by the account we have in Pausanias of an altar erected in the academy at Athens³; and by what Plato said of Prometheus⁴. But I cannot think this was the fact; for, 1. The ancient Greek mythologists, and those who copied from them, tell the story quite another way⁵; saying that he made men and animated them with fire. 2. The supposed fact upon which Hyginus's fable depends, was not true, for it was not Prometheus, but Phoroneus who first taught the Greeks to kindle fire⁶. 3. The altar at Athens mentioned by Pausanias was either of no note, very modern, or, more probably, what was said of it in Pausanias's time relating to Prometheus, was not true; for Lucian is express, that Prometheus never had temple or altar any where dedicated to him⁷. 4. What

¹ Poetic. Astronom. c. xv.

² Προς αληθειαν δ' ευρετην γενομενου των πυρεων, εξ ων σκαλειται το πυρ. Diodor. Sic. l. v, c. 67.

³ Ἐν Ἀκαδημία δε εστὶ Προμηθεως βωμος, καὶ θεοσιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐχούτες καιόμενας λαμπάδας. το δε ἀγωνισμα, αμου τω δρομῳ φυλαξαι τὴν δαδα ἐπὶ καιομενην εστιν. Pausan. in Attic. c. 30.

⁴ Πυρ μεν παρα Προμηθεως. Plato. in Politic. p. 539.

⁵ Apollodor. lib. i, c. 7; Fulgentii Mythol. lib. ii, c. 9; Tatian. Orat. ad Græc.; Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. v.

⁶ Pausan. in Corinthiac.

⁷ Vid. Lucian. in Prometheo.

Plato says of Prometheus's giving men fire, was not meant in the literal sense; but in allusion to the Greek fable of his having made men⁸. 5. If his teaching men how to kindle fire had been the fact committed by him, how could this have deserved punishment? Lucian's ridicule of this notion is sufficient to induce any one to think, that the ancients could never have imagined a man condemned for an invention of such use and service to mankind. Now for these reasons I think, that this account of Hyginus was not the true ancient Mythos about Prometheus; but rather an opinion of some later fabulists, who thought they could this way find an easier solution of what was said about him. The soul of man was thought by philosophers, more ancient than the stoics, to consist of fire. It was an ancient opinion, that the Hebrew word, *aish*, for man, was derived from *aesh*, which in that language signifies fire⁹; and very probably the philosophy of the times, in which what is said of Prometheus was first recorded, led those, who framed the Mythos concerning him, to say he gave fire to his men; but not in that low and vulgar sense in which some writers of later ages imagined¹. But let us see

⁸ Vid. Platon. Protag. p. 224.

⁹ Euseb. Præp. Evangel. lib. xi, c. 6.

¹ Nec vero Atlas sustinere cœlum, nec Prometheus affixus Causaso—traderetur, nisi cœlestium divina cognitio nomen eorum ad errorem fabulæ traduxisset. Cic. Tusc. Disput. lib. v, c. 3.

what the Greek writers say of him. They tell us, that having made men of water and earth, he gave them fire without Jupiter's knowledge; that Jupiter for this fact ordered Vulcan to nail him down upon mount Caucasus; where an eagle for many years preyed upon his liver, until at length Hercules delivered him². This is their account of him: let us now examine, what they could design to intimate by it. Lucian indeed tells us, that the Athenians called the potters, who made earthen vessels and hardened them with fire, Prometheus's³, but then he owns that they were the wits who talked thus⁴: and this is indeed making a jest of, but not explaining the ancient fables. The philosophers treated these matters in a more serious way⁵. We have in Eusebius what one of them would have said upon the subject⁶. Prometheus, he says, was fabulously reported to have made men; because, being a wise man, here formed by his instructions men, who were in a state of the grossest ignorance; and Plato tells us, what the fire was, which he stole and added to them; namely, the arts which Vulcan and Minerva taught

² Apollodor. Biblioth. lib. i, c. 7.

³ Lucian. in Prometheo.

⁴ They were the jesters upon Prometheus's materials, the ἐπισκωπῶντες ἐς τὸν πηλόν, καὶ τὴν ἐν πυρὶ οπίησιν. Ibid.

⁵ Vid. Platon. in Protag. Cic. ubi sup.

⁶ Προμηθεὺς ὅς πλαττεῖν ἀνθρώπους ἐμυθεύετο· σοφὸς γὰρ ὢν εἰς παιδείαν αὐτὰς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγαν ἰδιωτείας μετεπλαττεῖν. Euseb. in Can. Chronic. an. 332.

the people⁷. Science is the fire, the life of man, though none but God did ever form *man of the dust of the earth, and breathed into him the breath of life*, so as to cause *man to become a living soul*⁸; yet, what is said of Prometheus, taking it in the sense we have now offered, is not inelegant; though fables and similitudes are not to be too strictly taken; nor can instructing men be absolutely said to be making and giving them life. And now we may see how Prometheus offended Jupiter, and why Jupiter put a stop to him. Jupiter had appointed proper persons to instruct his Cretans, and agreeably to what was the sense of Joshua, who attended upon Moses⁹, he thought it politically unsafe to permit any to be their teachers, but those who derived their authority from him; and therefore Prometheus, who had no such authority, was treated by him as a corrupter and seducer of the people. It is not so easy to say, what the punishment was, which Jupiter inflicted on him. What is told of the eagle preying upon his heart or liver is indeed a mere fable; and we have hints, that lead to the rise of it. Herodotus remarks, that the Greeks had the names of almost all their gods out of

⁷ Ἀνθρώπος σοφίαν τὴν πολιτικὴν ἐκ εἶχεν ——— εἰς δὲ τὸ τῆς Ἀθήνας καὶ Ἑφαίσθ οικημα το κοινόν ἐν ᾧ ἐφιλοτεχνεῖτην, [Προμηθεύς] λαθὼν ἐσερχεται, καὶ κλεψας τήντε ἐμπύρον τέχνην τὴν τῷ Ἑφαίσθ, καὶ τὴν ἀλλήν τὴν τῆς Ἀθήνας, διδῶσιν ἀνθρώπῳ. Plat. in Protag. p. 224.

⁸ Gen. ii. 7.

⁹ Numbers xi, 28.

Egypt¹, and Diodorus observes, that there had been men in Egypt of all the several names, by which the illustrious Greeks were afterwards distinguished. Sol, Saturn, Rhea, Jupiter, Juno, Vulcanus, Vesta, and Mercurius were names, which had been given to famous Egyptians²; and thus the Egyptians had their Prometheus³, who was one of their kings⁴. In his time the river Nile was called the Eagle⁵, and great inundations happening in his reign from the overflowing of this river, the concern he had for his country threw him into the deepest melancholy⁶. But Hercules, an Egyptian so called (for there were three of this name, and the first and most ancient was an Egyptian)⁷, embanked the river, retrieved

¹ Herod. lib. ii, c. 50.

² Diod. Sic. lib. i, c. 11. We must not understand either Herodotus to mean, that the Greeks took the Egyptians' words for the names of their gods, or Diodorus, that the Egyptians had called their heroes by the Greek names; the fact was this, the Greeks formed names for their gods and heroes of the same import in their language, as the Egyptian names were in the Egyptian; as homo, the Latin word for man, expresses in Latin what Adam, the Hebrew word, does in Hebrew, both being of a like analogy to the word, which in each language signifies the ground; and this is what Herodotus and Diodorus intended about the Greek and Egyptian names; viz. that, as Diodorus expresses it, μεθερμηνευομενων αυτων ομωνυμς υπαρχειν, they were analogous to one another.

³ Diodor. *ibid.*

⁴ Diodor. *ibid.*

⁵ Δια την οξύτητα, και την θιαν τς καλενεχθενίος ρευματος, τον μεν ποταμον Αετον ονομασθηναι. Diodor. lib. i, c. 19.

⁶ Τον δε Προμηθεα, δια την λυπην κινδυνευειν, εκλιπειν τον ζιον εκθσιως. Id. *ibid.*

⁷ Id. lib. iii, c. 73.

the country, and hereby⁸ relieved the king from the grief and concern which preyed upon him. Now from what was mentioned in the Egyptian records of this fact, the Greek fabulists took occasion to say, that an eagle preyed upon the heart or liver of Prometheus, until Hercules delivered him⁹. And thus this part of the Mythos was not originally intended of the Greek Prometheus; nor does it at all belong to him. However, he was bound down to mount Caucasus. I imagine Jupiter banished him to some uncultivated mountain called by that name¹, where he was obliged to confine himself to live, until after some years Jupiter recalled him again².

The hints we have in the ancient writers are too short to enable us to pretend to give a large

⁸ Diodor. lib. i, c. 19.

⁹ Διο και των παρ Ελλησι ποιητων τινας εις μυθον αγαγειν το πραχθεν, ως Ηρακλεες τον 'Αετον ανηρκατος τον το τα Προμηθεως ηπαρ εσθιοντα. Diodor. c. 19.

¹ The mountain Caucasus is generally placed by geographers between the Euxine and Caspian seas. Apollodorus calls it a mountain of Scythia; but we cannot conceive Jupiter should dispatch Prometheus to such a distance from Crete. I rather think some mountain of Crete was called by this name. As in after-ages very distant nations received the names of their deities from this island; so they might likewise the names of mountains, cities, and rivers. We find, the fable of Prometheus has travelled all over the world. In Alexander's time, mount Caucasus, the scene of his war, was said to be in India. See Strabo, lib. xv, p. 683, as before it had been placed in Asia. The fable of one age perhaps removed it from Crete into Pontus: a still later, with as much truth, might carry it thence into India.

² Apollodorus, lib. ii, c. 4, sec. 11.

account of the respective lives of the several persons, who engaged with Jupiter in the scenes of action, which made him and them conspicuous to the age in which they lived, and created them that fame, which has come down to all posterity. Fable has told us many particulars of them all; but much of this may be set aside, by considering what can and what cannot belong to the age when they lived. I imagine they did not all settle in Crete during their whole lives. Apollo was a great traveller, and visited divers parts of Greece, endeavouring to form all he conversed with to an orderly and social life³. Whether he began his travels before or at the death of Jupiter, I cannot determine. He came to Athens⁴, went thence to Panopæus, a city of Phocis⁵, where he killed Tityus, a man of huge stature and strength⁶, who opposed and domineered over that neighbourhood⁷. From hence he went to Delphos, where Themis then lived⁸; who was the oracle of that place⁹, being probably a very wise woman, capable of instructing the common people in many useful arts of life. Python

³ Καθ' ον χρονον τον Απολλωνα την γην επιοντα ημηνεν τες ανθρωπες απο τε των ανημερων καρπων και των βιων. Strabo. Georg. lib. ix, p. 422.

⁴ Id. ibid.

⁵ Id. ibid.

⁶ Apoll. lib. i, c. 4.

⁷ Τιτυον εχοντα τον τοπον, βιαιον ανδρα και παρανομον. Strabo ubi sup.

⁸ Apollodorus ubi sup.; Strabo. ibid.

⁹ Apollodor.

governed here with violence and cruelty¹, and would not have had Apollo admitted amongst his people; but Apollo prevailed against him and killed him². Python was also surnamed Draco³, and hence the fabulous writers might take occasion to invent what they say about Apollo's killing the huge serpent called Python⁴. Apollo seems to have lived the rest of his life chiefly at Delphos; to have formed and instructed the people here; and to have been so much respected and admired by them, that posterity afterwards fixed him a temple in this place, and supposed him the god who gave the oracles here, which were so much sought to in after-ages.

We read of Pluto, that he left Crete and went to Tartarus, and carried away Proserpine the daughter of Ceres with him⁵. Ceres herself, after her travels in search of her daughter⁶, settled in Attica⁷; where she became so famous for the method she taught in nursing Deiphon the son of Celeus king of Eleusis, as to be said by a particular regimen to have made him immortal⁸. By agreement with Pluto, her daughter Proserpine was to live with her two-thirds of the year, and the other third part in Tartarus; which occasioned the fable that Proserpine lived a third part of the year with Pluto, and the rest of her time with the

¹ Apollodor.

² Id. *ibid.*

³ Strabo ubi sup.

⁴ Ovid. *Metam.*; Strabo, p. 423.

⁵ Apollod. lib. i, c. 5.

⁶ Id. *ibid.*

⁷ Antonin. lib. *Metam.* c. 2.

⁸ Apollod. ubi sup.

gods above⁹. The Arundel marble may seem to fix the time of Ceres's being in Attica something late, namely to A. M. 2596¹, which is about eighty years after the ninety-fifth year of Jupiter². But Ceres was sister to Jupiter³, and therefore can hardly be supposed to have come into Attica so many years after Jupiter must have been dead. But I would observe, that the Marble Epoch records, that Ceres taught Triptolemus the son of Celeus to sow corn, and sent him to teach other nations. It is not likely, that Triptolemus began his travels before he was two or three and thirty; and his father Celeus might be born forty years before him. Now Ceres nursed Celeus when an infant⁴. Let us count back from Triptolemus's travels to teach the sowing of corn, to the infancy of Celeus, when Ceres came into Attica, seventy-three years, and we shall fix her coming into that country A. M. 2523. *i. e.* near the time of Jupiter's death, seven years after his ninety-fifth year; about which time she may indeed be thought to have settled in Attica. Perhaps nothing more was intended in the Marble Epoch than to fix the time of Triptolemus's travels; and it seems to have fixed them agreeably enough to what might be the true time of his life; and Ceres might be said to teach him his art, merely because at the composing

⁹ Apollod. ubi sup.

¹ Ep. xii.

² Vid. quæ sup.

³ Apollod. lib. i, c. 1, sec. 3; Diodor. Sic. lib. v, c. 63.

⁴ Apollod. lib. i, c. 5.

the Marble Epochs, Ceres was esteemed the goddess, who presided over this part of husbandry. Neptune was the great master of the seas, with Jupiter and his family; and we may suppose he managed and conducted all the voyages made by any of them. Plato tells us, that he settled and planted his children in the island Atlantis⁵, which seems from Strabo to have been either an island near Eubœa⁶, or in the Ionian Sea near to Elis⁷, a city of Peloponnesus. In these and the adjacent seas Neptune had exercised his skill in sailing; and in some isle of these seas we may well suppose him to have lived, when he gave over a seaman's life. Mars and Minerva were frequently at Athens, if they did not constantly live there⁸. Vulcan is supposed to have gone to Lemnos⁹; Ops, who was called Rhea, removed from Crete to Phrygia, and dwelt on mount Cybelum, and became famous there¹. The Arundel marble fixes the time of her appearing there to A. M. 2499², which falls towards the latter end of Jupiter's life, and very well agrees to the times wherein we have supposed him to live. Ops was afterwards called Cybele from the mountain where she lived. She brought arts and sciences from Crete into these parts; and hence it came to pass, that in after-ages divine

⁵ Plato in Critia. p. 1103.

⁶ Strab. Geog. lib. i, p. 60, 61.

⁸ Apollod. lib. iii, c. 4, 13.

⁹ Id. ibid. lib. i, c. 3, sec. 5.

¹ Diodor. lib. iii; Strabo, lib. x.

² Lib. vii. p. 346.

³ Epoch. x.

honours were paid to her in this country, though in Crete no rites were ever instituted for her worship³. Cybele's travelling from Crete into Phrygia might occasion some places as well as persons in Phrygia to have names given them, the same which had before been the names of persons and places in Crete. Thus we read of a mount Ida⁴, and of the Idæ Dactyli in both countries. Juno, Vesta, Venus, Diana, and Mercurius were occasionally in divers parts of Greece, and celebrated in all for those arts in which they excelled. And thus, although I do not find it to have ever been fact, that Crete obtained an universal empire over all the states of Greece, though Aristotle thought it well situated and qualified for the acquiring such dominion⁵; yet it appears, that its ancient inhabitants were most signally instrumental in introducing the first rudiments of polity into many of these nations, instructing both their kings and people to know how to be useful and beneficial to one another.

³ Φησι δε παλιν ο Σκηψιος εν τη Κρητη τας της Ρεας τιμας μη νομιζεσθαι μηδι επιχωριαζειν. Strabo. lib. x, p. 472.

⁴ Ιδη γαρ το ορος το τε Τρωικον, και το Κρητικον. Ibid.

⁵ Δοκει δ' η νησος [η Κρητικη] και προς την αρχην την Ελληνικην πεφυκεναι και κεισθαι καλως. Aristot. de Rep. lib. ii, c. 10.

THE
SACRED AND PROFANE
HISTORY OF THE WORLD
CONNECTED.

BOOK XI.

WHEN the Israelites saw, that Moses did not come down to them out of the Mount, they were greatly surprised; and gathered about Aaron, and required him to make them a god to be carried before them¹. Aaron asked them for their earrings, which they forthwith brought him, and he melted them down, and a golden calf was made of them, and the people made acclamations, *This is thy God, O Israel, who brought thee up out of the land of Egypt*². Aaron, when he saw the image received

¹ Exodus xxxii, 1.

² The Hebrew expression, ver. 4, rendered by our translators, *These be thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt*, may at first seem to hint that the Israelites had made

with such applause, built an altar before it, and proclaimed a feast unto the LORD³; accordingly they met next day, and offered sacrifices to their idol, and celebrated their feast, and rose up to the games with which they were to end it⁴. Moses at this time coming down from the mount⁵, and entering into the camp, seeing the calf, and the people dancing before it, was exceedingly moved; and throwing down the two tables of the law, which he had in his hands⁶, he took the idol and melted it; then reduced the lump of gold to powder, and mixed the powder with water, and made the children of Israel to drink it⁷. After this he expostulated with Aaron, what could induce him to lead the people into so great a sin⁸. Aaron made the best excuse he could; represented the perverse disposition of the people, that they would not believe they should ever see him more, and that he could not avoid yielding to their importunity⁹.

The Rabbins think they can entirely excuse Aaron¹; saying, that he was forced to a compliance; that the people had massacred Hur for opposing

gods, in the plural number; but the word *elohim* is known to be often taken as a noun singular, and the image here alluded to was but one, namely, the calf, and it was dedicated to only one God, the LORD; so that the words ought to have been translated in the singular number.

³ Exodus xxxii, 5.

⁴ Ver. 6.

⁵ Ver. 15.

⁶ Ver. 19.

⁷ Ver. 20.

⁸ Ver. 21.

⁹ Ver. 22—24.

¹ Vid. Poole's Synops. in loc.

their demands, and would have killed Aaron, if he had not yielded to them. What authority they had for these assertions, I cannot say; I think we nowhere read of Hur as alive after the time of this affair; yet, if what they offer be true, I cannot see, that Aaron was innocent. No obstinacy of the people could have forced him without his own fault²; and he should have been willing to die, rather than have consented to, and been partaker of their sins. It may perhaps be supposed, that Aaron's compliance was attended with some circumstances which mitigated the fault, from Moses not replying to the apology he made³, and from what is said of the people in relation to making the calf; that *they made the calf which Aaron made*⁴; as if the making it was imputed rather to them than to him. Aaron indeed endeavours to clear himself of having had a hand in the actual making of the idol. *I cast it*, says he, *i. e.* the gold, which they gave me, *into the fire, and there came out this calf*⁵. The expression is somewhat obscure, and the Rabbins tell us, that Aaron only cast the gold into the fire; that the calf came out by magic art; the melted gold being formed into the shape of an idol, not by Aaron, but by some invisible agent. This

² Justum et tenacem propositi virum
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solida, &c.

HOR. CAR. lib. iii, ode 3.

³ Exod. xxxii, 21—24.

⁴ Ver. 35.

⁵ Ver. 24.

was one of their fancies; but Aaron could intend no such intimation. He designed only to plead that he was not actually the maker of the image; but that other persons, and not he, were the founders of it. He represents, that they required him to make them a god; that hereupon he asked them for materials; that they brought him their gold; *then*, says he, *I cast it into the fire*, I delivered it out of my hands to the use for which it was designed, into the furnace in which it was to be melted, *and there came out this calf*⁶, i. e. I was no farther concerned in what was done; the next thing I saw was the calf. What was done farther was done by others, not by me; the workmen made the calf and brought it to me. And to this account, I think, what is related in the 4th verse of this chapter, should be agreeable. We render the verse, *and he received them at their hand, and fashioned it with a graving tool, after he had made it a molten calf; and they said, these be thy gods, &c.* The present Hebrew text does indeed require a translation to this purpose. But if the fact was as this verse seems to represent it, surely Aaron was the person chiefly concerned in the workmanship of the image; and there could be no room for him to pretend to plead, that not himself but other persons were the makers of it. Upon this account I suspect, that the present Hebrew text in this verse has suffered a little, through the mistake or want of care of very an-

⁶ Exod. xxxii, 24.

cient transcribers; that Moses most probably wrote the verbs, which we translate, *and he fashioned it, and he made it*, not in the singular, but in the plural number, like the verb (*vejaomeru*), *and they said*, which follows them. The variation of the words thus miswritten is not so considerable, but that it might easily be made, without any great inattention in writing; especially, when the first verb in the period, *and he took them*, being singular, might lead to it. Now if we may take the liberty to make this correction, the verse would run thus: *And he received it, i. e. the gold, at their hands, and they formed it in a mould⁷, and they made a molten calf, and they said, this is thy god, O Israel⁸*. And thus this verse would agree with what is suggested in other places, that Aaron indeed received the gold which was brought him; but that the forming it in the mould, and making it into a calf, and proclaiming it a god, was not done by Aaron, but by others, by the workmen or artificers, and the people. But notwithstanding all this, whatever may hence be offered in mitigation

⁷ I would take the word חרש to signify here not a *graving tool*, as we render it. That is indeed its general acceptation; but it is used in a very different sense, 2 Kings, chap. v, ver. 23. It there signifies a *bag*, or *little chest*, and by an easy *metaphor* from this use of it, it may denote a mould made to shut up like a chest, to contain and form the metal to be poured into it.

⁸ The words of the text would be,

ויקה מידם ויצרו אעו בחרש ויתשו עגל מסכה
ויואמרו אלה אלהינו ישראל.

of Aaron's fault, yet certainly all will be too little to prove him innocent; and agreeably hereto we find a great share of the guilt was imputed to him. *The LORD was very angry with him to have destroyed him, but that Moses prayed for him*⁹.

Moses was commanded to punish the people for the wickedness they had committed. And upon finding them unarmed, and upon no guard, incapable of making opposition, he *stood in the gate of t'c camp, and said, Who is on the LORD's side? Let him come unto me. And all the sons of Levi gathered themselves together unto him; and he said unto them, thus saith the LORD GOD; Put every man his sword by his side, and go in and out from gate to gate throughout the camp, and slay every man his brother, and every man his companion, and every man his neighbour. And the children of Levi did according to the word of Moses: and there fell of the people that day about three thousand men*¹.

Our English version does not entirely come up to the Hebrew expression in the 25th verse; which we render, *When Moses saw that the people were naked (for Aaron had made them naked to their shame, amongst their enemies)*. The metaphor is indeed easy, to say they were naked, as being unarmed, and the Hebrew verb *Paran* is capable of being thus used; but this is not its whole signification, and it hints more than this in the place before us. The first and natural signification of

⁹ Deut. ix, 20.

¹ Exodus xxxii, 26, 27, 28.

the verb *Paran* is, *to free*, or *to set at liberty*². It is thus used by Moses³; *The king of Egypt said unto them, Wherefore do ye, Moses and Aaron (taprinu æth hanam mimmanashaiv⁴), let the people, or set them free from their works?* From this sense the word was easily applied to express the freedom or liberty which people had on holy-days; or came to signify in general, *to keep holy-day*; and we find it thus used in Judges v, 2, for a true translation of that verse would be *Praise the LORD in, or at keeping the feasts, or holy-days, of Israel*⁵. To these *the people willingly offered themselves*⁶; they came, *behithnaddeb nam*⁷, *every one as his spirit made him willing*⁸, i. e. every one without compulsion, just as his inclination led him, and they behaved at them with the same freedom. For we must not suppose that the public games of any nation were at first under the regulations which time introduced; but rather, were a sort of voluntary meetings, where authority of magistrates, and subjection of inferiors were laid aside; and every one headed a party, or acted his part, or took his place to see the diversion, as it happened, or his fancy led him. And in a high scene of such di-

² Vid. Avenar. et al. Lexicograph. in verbo פָּרַע.

³ Exod. v, 4.

⁴ תפריעו את-העם ממעשיו. Heb. Text.

⁵ The Hebrew words are בפרע פרעות בישראל

Israel in ferias feriendo in.

⁶ Judges v, 2.

⁷ Text Heb. בְּהִיתְנַדֵּב עִם.

⁸ This is the signification of the verb נָדַב. It is thus used Exodus xxxv, 21, 29, where the people came voluntarily to make their offerings; every one giving, without any exaction, just what his inclination led him to.

version Moses found his people, *ci paran hua*⁹; for they were *keeping high holy-day*, and at full liberty. The expression is remarkable; it is not *ci paran*, which had been enough to express, that they were at liberty, or keeping holy-day, but *ci paran hua*¹. In the Hebrew tongue the use of this pronoun *hua* has sometimes a peculiarity, which I think has not been taken notice of. It generally signifies no more than **THIS** or **THAT**, or **HE** or **THE** emphatically; but it is sometimes used to denote a person's doing a thing *of his own head*, as we say in English, or without regard to the direction of any other. Thus in the case of Balaam, when God had allowed him to go with the messengers of Balak, if they came in the morning to call him²; because he was more hasty than he ought to have been, and went to them, instead of staying until they should come to him³, it was said of him, not *ci halak*, *that he went*, but *ci holek hua*⁴; i. e. that *he went of his own head*, or without being called. And thus in the plural number *hem* is used in Psalm xcv. We translate the place, *It is a people that do err in their hearts*⁵; but the Hebrew words express more. *In his heart* had been *belibbo*⁶, or *bilbabo*⁷; *in their hearts* had been *bilbabam*⁸, or *belibbam*⁹. But the words here used are *lebab*

⁹ כיפרע הוא, Heb. Text, Exod. xxxii, 25.

¹ Ibid.

² Numbers xxii, 20.

³ Ver. 21.

⁴ Ver. 22.

⁵ Psalm xcv, 10.

⁶ Psalm xiv, 1.

⁷ Psalm xv, 2.

⁸ Psalm xxviii, 3.

⁹ Psalm lxxiv, 8.

hem, which suggest, that people erred in heart, *from acting of their own heads*; from pursuing their own ways, or following their own imaginations; for this was the perpetual crime of the Israelites, and this was what the Psalmist here intended, as appears by the close of the verse, *for they have not known my ways*. And thus the word *hwa* is here used in the passage before us; the people *paran hwa*, were at loose hand, under no command or control. Distinctions and authority were laid aside, and every one at the games was his own man, and consequently the camp must have been in no condition of being called to order and a posture of defence, if a sudden exigence had required it.

From what I have said about the use of the word *paran*, it is easy to see, what the verse I am treating of expresses, namely, 1. That the people were upon no guard; in no posture of defence; under no direction or command of their proper officers; but were scattered up and down the plain at their games, as their fancy led them. And the LXX took this to be the meaning of the place, and accordingly translate it, *Ἰδων Μωυσης τον λαον, οτι διεσκεδασαι*¹, *i. e. Moses seeing the people to be scattered or dispersed*. They were in no formed body to be able to make head against an enemy; and, 2. They were free of their armour, or unarmed, naked in this sense, not clothed to defend

¹ Exodus xxxii, 25.

themselves against any violence which might be offered to them². This was the condition in which Moses found them exposed *to their shame*³, or in a shameful manner *amongst their* enemies. And certainly Aaron's conduct was very inconsiderate in this particular, for their enemies were not far distant. The Amalekites had not long before attacked them⁴. And what might have been the fate of the whole people, if any considerable attempt had been now made, when they were so unguarded, that a small body of men, such as Moses here appointed from among the Levites, might *go in and out*⁵ *from gate to gate of the camp*, and without difficulty kill as many of them as they would.

* The word *Paran*, as I have observed, primarily signifies, *to free* or *set at liberty*, and from hence, by an easy metaphor, it denotes *to free ourselves from*, or *put off* any dress which we had upon us. Thus *Paran Rosh*, *to free the head*, is the expression for the high priest's putting off the attire he wore upon his head, Levit. xxi, 1; and likewise for women's putting off their head dresses, Numb. v, 18. And this use of the word intimates to us whence St. Paul took an expression in his epistle to the Corinthians. *The woman*, says he, *ought to have power on her head*, he means, *ought to be covered*; for *to have the head free*, under no restraint, authority, power, is the Hebrew expression for being *uncovered*, and therefore *not to have the head free*, ΕΞΕΣΤΙΑΝ ΕΧΕΙΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΣ ΚΕΦΑΛΗΣ. 1 Cor. xi, 10, *to have power on the head*, may denote the contrary, or *to be covered*. The apostle seems to have put a Hebrew idiom into Greek words, which, unless we consider what a like expression in Hebrew would suggest to us, do not at first sight express very clearly what he intended by them.

³ Exod. xxxii, 25.

⁴ Chap. xvii.

⁵ Chap. xxxii, 27.

Some learned writers have wandered far from what Moses intended here to hint, by taking the expression of the people's being naked in too strict a sense, as if the people were literally so, when Moses came to them. Monceius imagines, that Aaron had stripped them of their clothes; but the reasons he gives for doing it are very whimsical. He supposes that the persons who had been guilty of the idolatry had a tumor upon their groin, occasioned by their drinking of the water, into which Moses had strewed the powder of the idol⁶; and that Aaron had stripped them, either, 1, to prevent an increase of their infection; or, 2, to discover to Moses, who were guilty, and who were innocent; or, 3, to cause the innocent to separate from the guilty, that they might escape their punishment. But the whole of this fancy is without foundation. It is like a whim of some of the fathers, who imagined, that the beards of those who drank of the water above-mentioned, turned yellow. Bochart mentions a version made in the thirteenth century, wherein the 27th verse of this chapter of Exodus is thus rendered: *Slay ye every one his brother, his friend, his neighbour, even all those who have golden beards.* And the gloss upon the text adds, that *those who worshipped the calf had their beards turned into a gold colour; for the powder stuck to the hair miraculously.* And Saurin tells us, that he had a Bible, printed at Antwerp

• Vid. Pol. Synops. Critic. in loc.

in the year 1531, with this gloss in it⁷. But the reader may be furnished with many fancies of this sort, if it be worth while to search for them⁸. There are indeed other writers who contend, that the Israelites were found by Moses really naked; and endeavour to defend their opinion with a better appearance both of argument and learning. They suppose that the Israelites were dancing naked before their idol, and that the Egyptians had very ancient rites in their religious institutions, in imitation of which the Israelites might celebrate their feast with this lewd diversion. They remark, that the Egyptians had dedicated a golden calf⁹ to one of their deities; from whence possibly the Israelites might take their pattern, and that both Plutarch¹ and Diodorus² hint very indecent practices in the Egyptian Sacra, and that there is a passage in Herodotus³, which suggests that they solemnized games, such as might lead the Israelites into the naked dance here alluded to. This is the utmost that can be offered for supposing that Aaron really stripped the people. But to all this it is easy to

⁷ Dissert. 53.

⁸ Vid. Targ. Jonath. et Hierosolymit.

⁹ Βεν διαχρυσον—ἐπὶ πένθει τῆς θεῆς δεικνυσι. Plut. in lib. de Isid. et Osirid. p. 366. We may be allowed to translate *βεν* here by our English word calf, if it be considered, that Herodotus called the Egyptian Apis so. Ἐχει δὲ ὁ μοσχὸς ὅτος ὁ Ἀπὶς καλεόμενος. Herod. lib. iii, c. 28.

¹ In lib. de Isid. et Osirid. p. 358.

² Diodor. Sic. lib. i, p. 13.

³ Τυπτονται μὲν γὰρ ἡ μετὰ τὴν θυσιαν πάντες καὶ πασαι, μυριαδες καρτὰ πολλὰ ἀνθρώπων. τὸν δὲ [ὁ τῷ δὲ] τυπτονται, ἃ μοι οὐκ ἐστὶ λεγέειν. Herodot. lib. ii, c. 61.

answer: for, 1. The passage in Herodotus does indeed seem to hint some obscenity, of which the historian thought it not decent to give a full narration⁴; but we must suppose a great deal more than is hinted by him, to make it come up to the purpose for which it is cited⁵. But, 2. If what we find in Herodotus could be supposed to describe such a dance as the Israelites are by these learned writers said to have practised, yet it must be remarked, that what the historian alludes to, as well as the obscene Sacra in the Isiaca and Osiria of the Egyptians, were all of later date than the time of Moses. They were said to be the institutions of Isis⁶, and were not introduced until after the Egyptians worshipped hero-gods; which did not happen until many years after the death of Moses⁷. And therefore, 3. Though the heathen nations, when they had deserted the knowledge of God, which by revelation God himself *had shewed*

⁴ Suspicietur aliquis rem turpem et obscœnam, quam aures honestæ, vix etiam in rebus profanis nominandam audire sustineant: quum Typhon inventum Osiridis cadaver in partes xiv, divisum disjecisset, Isis perquirendo singulas reperit præter pudendam, quæ in fluvium projecta mox a Phagro et Oxyryncho piscibus devorata fuerat: illius igitur loco ad ejus similitudinem factum τὸν φαλλον consecravit, cui etiam nunc diem festum Ægyptii celebrant. Hæc Plutarchus. Hoc etiam phallo percuti solitos in sacris illis execrandis Ægyptios probabile est. Vid Gronov. Not. in Herodot. lib. ii, p. 111.

⁵ Quod opinantur aliqui, Ægyptios in his sacris saltasse nudos et nudas, ut pudenda phallo percuterentur, hoc videtur gratis dictum.

⁶ Plutarch. in lib. de Isid. et Osirid.

⁷ Vol. ii, b. viii.

unto them, did in time *become vain* enough in *their imaginations* to admit shocking turpitudes into their religious institutions, yet they sunk into these things by degrees; and we have no reason to think that the Egyptians were thus early so far gone as to afford a precedent, in any of their sacred games, for such a dance as these writers imagine; nor can I see, if they had, how Aaron can be conceived to have been so lost to all sense of decency, as to have copied after such a pattern.

In order to punish the Israelites for their idolatry, we are told that *all the sons of Levi gathered themselves together unto Moses*¹; and we must think, from the strict orders given them², that they must have killed every one a man; yet the number of all who fell that day, were only about three thousand³. The Levites, men and children, were above two and twenty thousand². The children indeed could not serve in the employment; but more than eight thousand of them were from thirty years old to fifty³; and if only every one of these had killed a man, there must have fallen near three times the number above-mentioned. The vulgar Latin translation has the number three and twenty thousand; but this is a variation from the Hebrew text, for which there is no colour from any copy or other version. Some learned men have indeed supposed, that St. Paul suggested the

¹ Exodus xxxii, 26.

² Ver. 28.

³ Chap. iv, 48.

¹ Ver. 27.

² Numbers iii.

same thing ; but they misrepresent the design of the place to which they refer⁴. St. Paul intended, in the verse they cite, to give the number, not of those who were slain for this idolatry, but who died of the plague for their fornication⁵ *in the matter of Peor and of Cozbi*⁶. There is, I confess, a difficulty in supposing, that only three thousand should fall, if so many hands, as the whole tribe of Levi afforded, had taken up arms against them. But the real fact appears to be this : not the whole tribe of Levi, but only all the sons of Levi, who were among those unto whom Moses called, came together to this service. That the whole tribe were not engaged in it, is evident from the charge which Moses gave them. They were to *slay every man his brother*⁷, and *every man his son*⁸, if any so nearly related came within their reach ; but this could not have been supposed, if all the Levites had taken up the sword ; for then all their brethren and children would have been with them, and there could have been none at the games so nearly related as a son or a brother, to have been slain by them. But farther, Moses stood in the gate of the camp⁹, and called to the persons whom he employed ; and the persons he called were not within the camp ; for he directed them to enter the camp, *to go in and out*

⁴ 1 Corinth. x, 8.

⁵ Ver. 18.

⁶ Ver. 29.

⁵ Numb. xxv.

⁷ Exod. xxxii, 27.

⁹ Ver. 26.

*from gate to gate of it*¹. Had he called to those who were at the games, he needed not to have gone to the gate of the camp; but rather have called upon the spot where they were playing. I therefore think, that there were numbers out of every tribe, who had retired from the camp, whilst this idolatry was acting in it. Unto these Moses called from the gate, and from among these all the Levites, to about such a number as might, in executing what he directed, kill about three thousand men, *gathered themselves together unto him*. Moses had enjoined them to take up the sword² for God's service; and, if they desired to acquit themselves so as to be accepted by him, to be careful not to make the work they were engaged in a scene of their own private passions and partialities, but to execute the vengeance strictly and indiscriminately upon all that should happen in their way, how near and dear soever they might be to them. On the next day Moses remonstrated to the people the greatness of their sin; but promised to endeavour to intercede for them³. God was pleased so

¹ Exodus xxxii, 27.

² The commentators seem to suspect a difficulty in this place, supposing the verb *קָבַץ* to be here used not in its common acceptation; but I am at a loss to find out what could lead them to any such imagination. The Hebrew text verbally translated would run thus: *For Moses said, fill your hands, i. e. with the sword, or take up your sword, to day for the Lord, for each man is to be against his son and his brother, that he [God] may give you a blessing*; the meaning of the verse must be obvious to every reader.

³ Exodus xxxii, 30.

far to admit his intercession, as to order him to prepare the people to march for Canaan⁴, telling him, that he would send an angel before them to put them in possession of the land⁵, but that himself would *not go up any farther in the midst of them*⁶. When Moses acquainted the people herewith, they were greatly dejected⁷. God hereupon appointed them a solemn humiliation to avert his displeasure⁸; and Moses erected a tent without the camp, and called it the tabernacle of the congregation⁹. Upon this the cloudy pillar descended, in the sight of all the people, and here the Lord talked with Moses¹, and at length promised him, that his *presence* should *go with them, and give them rest*².

It must at first sight seem a very monstrous thing to us, that the Israelites, in the midst of what God was doing for them, whilst his presence among them was so visible, whilst *the sight of his glory was like a devouring fire on the top of the mount*: I say, whilst God was thus marvellously and evidently near to them, it may be thought very strange and unaccountable, that they should so presently fall away from what had been commanded³, and fall into what must appear to us a most gross and

⁴ Exod. xxxii, 34.

⁶ Ver. 3.

⁵ Ver. 5.

¹ Ver. 9, 10, 11.

³ Chap. xx, 4.

⁵ Chap. xxxiii, 2.

⁷ Ver. 4.

² Ver. 7.

⁸ Ver. 14.

senseless folly : to set up a calf ; to make it a god ; to pay worship to it. It is generally said, that the Israelites dedicated the calf in imitation of what the Egyptians practised in their religion. This was Philo's opinion⁴, which St. Stephen confirms⁵ ; and therefore what some have supposed, that Aaron formed the calf to represent a cherubim⁶, is not only a mere groundless fancy, but contradicts what the sacred writer hints ; namely, that their turning their hearts back to Egypt, their inclining to have such Sacra as were there used, was what led them to set up this object for their worship⁷. It has been argued by some, that the Israelites intended here to fall entirely into the Egyptian religion, and that the deity to whom they made the calf, was some god of the Egyptians⁸ ; but I think it plain that this was not the fact. The Israelites evidently designed to worship, in the calf, the god who had brought them out of the land of Egypt⁹ ; and their feast was accordingly proclaimed, not to any Egyptian deity, but to THE LORD ; to JEHOVAH¹ ; to their own GOD ; so that their idolatry consisted, not in really worshipping a false deity, but in making an image to the true and living GOD. Now this being the fact, and

⁴ Phil. Jud. de vit. Mosis, lib. iii, p. 677.

⁵ Acts vii, 39, 40.

⁶ Spencer. de Leg. Heb. lib. i, c. 1, sec. 1 ; Witsii Ægyptiac. lib. ii, c. 2.

⁷ Acts vii, ubi sup.

⁸ Spencer. ubi sup.

⁹ Exod. xxxii, 4.

¹ Ver. 5.

this fact being expressly condemned as idolatry by the Apostle², the Papists are from hence unanswerably charged with idolatry for their image worship, and they can in no wise justify themselves ; for what they offer, if it might be admitted, would vindicate the Israelites as well as them. It will be still said, what, if the Egyptian religion was indeed full of these senseless superstitions, is it not strange that the Israelites should be so fond of continually imitating the rites and usages of that nation ? I answer ; this must indeed seem strange and unaccountable, if we can imagine, that they were for copying after these patterns merely because they were Egyptian ; but the fact appears in another light, if we consider that the wisdom of Egypt was in these days of the highest repute of any in the world ; and that the Egyptian institutions were not at this time suspected to be absurd, unreasonable, or superstitious³ ; but on the contrary, reason and philosophy were thought incontestably to support the practice of them⁴. I cannot imagine that the Israelites had been such servile imitators of Egypt, as some learned writers are apt to represent them. We see in fact they

² 1 Corinth. x, 7.

³ Ουδεν γαρ αλογον, εδε μυθωδες, εδε υπο δεισιδαιμονιας (ωσπερ ενιοι νομιζεσιν) εγκατεσοιχειτο ιερουργiais. Plutarch. in lib. de Isid. et Osirid. p. 353.

⁴ Καλως οι νομοι τα περι τας θυσιας εταξαν, διο δει μαλιστα προς ταυτα λογον εκ φιλοσοφιας μυσαγωγον αναλαβοντας, οσιως διανοεισθαι των λεγομενων και δρωμενων εκασον. Id. ibid. p. 378.

had rejected their gods; being convinced, that the God, who had brought them out of the land of Egypt was the only god to be worshipped by them⁵; and had they been as sensible that the calf they had made was a real absurdity, they would, I dare say, not have been at all induced to make it by any knowledge or imitation of the Sacra of the Egyptians. But according to the rudiments of the world in these ages, reason was thought very clearly to dictate, that images were necessary to a lively and significant service of the deity⁶; and such a sort of image as the Israelites now used, was accounted to be by nature designed for this very purpose⁷, and the wise and the learned thought they worshipped *φυσικως*, and esteemed it a part of natural religion to dedicate these Sacra. Thus, I think, I might justly say of the Israelites, that in all they did in this matter, *there had no temptation taken them but what is common to man*⁸. It is indeed true, that God had made a covenant with this people⁹, the import and design of which was to engage them to *obey his voice*¹, and to *walk in the ways which* he should command them², that

⁵ Exodus xxxii, 4, 5.

⁶ Plutarch. ubi sup. Antiquos simulachra Deorum confinxisse, quæ cum oculis animadvertissent, hi, qui adissent divina mysteria, possent animam mundi ac partes ejus, id est, Deos veros videre. Varro in Fragment. p. 40.

⁷ Τιμωντας δια τῶτων το θειον ως εναργεστερων εσοπτρων και φυσει γεγονοτων. Plut. ubi sup.

⁸ 1 Corinth. x, 13.

⁹ Exod. xxiv, 5—8; Deut. v, 3.

¹ Exod. xix, 5; Jerem. vii, 22, 23.

² Jerem. ibid.

they might not walk in the counsels of their own hearts³, but should trust in the LORD with their whole heart, and not lean to their own understanding⁴. This was to have been their wisdom, this their understanding in the sight of all nations⁵; if they would have bowed their hearts to adhere to it. But when or where has mankind been truly ready to pay unto GOD this obedience of faith? Our first parents would not be restrained by a divine command, from what they thought in reason was to be desired to make them wise⁶. And thus the Israelites would have images, when they thought reason and natural science to be for them; though GOD had said expressly, make no image⁷. In the same spirit and way of thinking, the learned Greeks in their day would not admit the doctrine of the cross, though attested to come from GOD by *the demonstration of the spirit and of power*⁸, because it seemed foolishness to them⁹. And I need not remark how difficult it is at this day, to persuade men to have their faith stand, *not in the wisdom of man, but in the power of GOD*¹. *Vain man would be wise, though man be born as the wild ass's colt*². A restless inclination to pursue what seem to be the dictates of human wisdom, rather than strictly to adhere to what

³ Jerem. vii, 24.

⁵ Deut. iv, 6.

⁷ Exod. xx, 4.

⁹ Ver. 23.

² Job. xi, 12.

⁴ Prov. iii, 5.

⁶ Gen. iii, 6.

⁸ 1 Corinth. i, 21.

¹ Chap. ii, 5.

GOD commands, has ever been the *πειρασμος ανθρωπινος*³; I might say the human foible, the seducement, which has been too apt to prevail against us. Our modern reasoners think they argue right, when they contend, that “if we find any thing in a revelation, which appears contrary to our reason, no external evidence whatsoever will be sufficient to prove its divine original; but that upon observing any thing in it so opposite to our natural light and understanding, we ought to give up such a revelation as absurd, and therefore false, whatever extrinsic proofs may be offered in support of it.” But was not this the part which the Israelites here acted? To have no images to direct their worship was, according to the then theory of human knowledge, contrary to what they called science and reason. As soon therefore as Moses was gone from them, they regarded not the commandment which had been given them. The external proof, which they had of its divine authority, weighed but little with them, in comparison of what they imagined reason dictated very clearly in this matter.

Some learned writers endeavour to argue, that if the Israelites had not fallen into idolatry, by setting up the calf, God would not have given them the ritual or ceremonial part of the law⁴.

³ 1 Corinth. x, 13.

⁴ Antequam offenderent Dominum, idolum illud erigentes, Decalogum tantum acceperunt; post idololatriam vero et blasphemias, ceremonias legales multas dedit, ad nihil aliud utiles,

They say, that at first *GOD spake not unto them, nor commanded them concerning burnt-offerings or sacrifices*⁵; but gave them his statutes, and showed them his judgments, which if a man do, he shall even live by them⁶; adding to these only his *Sabbaths*, to be a sign between him and them, that they might know him to be *the LORD*⁷. They observe, that the ten commandments, and the statutes which follow to the end of the xxxiiiid chapter of Exodus, do well answer to these accounts of the prophets, and were indeed such a law of moral righteousness, *that the man which doth these things, shall live by them*⁸, without any further observances to recommend him unto GOD. But when the Israelites would not walk in GOD's statutes, but despised his judgments⁹, and had their eyes after their fathers' idols¹; that then *the ceremonial law was added because of their transgressions*², then GOD gave them also, or over and above what he had before commanded them, *statutes that were not good, and judgments whereby they should not live*³; namely, the positive and ritual precepts, which Moses was then directed to deliver to them. We may find this opinion at large in the work called the apostolical constitutions⁴; and there is an appointment

quam ut eos remorarentur a dæmonum cultu et sacrilega superstitione gentium. Isidor. Clar. Schol. in Ezek.; Vid. Spencer. de Legib. Heb. lib. i, c. 4, sec. 4.

⁵ Jerem. vii, 22.

⁶ Ezek. xx, 11.

⁷ Ver. 12.

⁸ Rom. x, 5.

⁹ Ezek. xx, 24.

¹ Ibid.

² Gal. iii, 19.

³ Ezek. xx, 25.

⁴ Δεδωκεν νομον απλων εις βοηθειαν τε φυσικη, καθαρον

in the xxth chapter of Exodus, which perhaps may be thought to favour it. An altar of earth, or of rough unbewn stone, was commanded at the giving of the law, for all their sacrifices⁵; but at the institution of the ritual injunctions a different altar was appointed, of much workmanship and of another nature⁶; which may seem to hint, that the observances belonging to it were not a continuation of what was at first intended, but rather an addition of new rites, like the altar to which they belonged, and of a different composition. But I answer,

I. What is contended for, that God did not intend and command the ritual part of the law of Moses, before the Israelites set up the calf, is not true in fact. The xxv, xxvi, xxvii, xxviii, xxix, xxx, and xxxist chapters of Exodus show us undeniably, that the Tabernacle was ordered; the utensils and furniture of it directed; the order of the Levitical priesthood was appointed; the persons designed for the offices of it were named; their vestments and rites of consecration, the altars,

σωτηριον, αγιον, εν ω και το ιδιον ονομα εγκατεθετο, τελειον, ανελλειπη, δεκα λογιων πληρη, αμωμον, επισρεφοντα ψυχας—Νομος δε εστιν η δεκαλογος, ην προ τε τον λαον ἰμοσχοποιησαι—Θεος αυτοις ενομοθετησεν ακεση φωνη, ετος δε δικαιος εστι, διο και νομος λεγεται δια το φυσει δικαιας τας κρισεις ποιεισθαι. Const. Apost. lib. vi, c. 19, 20. Οποτε δε οι τε λαοι τετε αμνημονες υπηρξαν, και μοσχον αντι τε θεο επεκαλεσαντο—τοτε οργισθεις ο Θεος εδησεν αυτες δεσμοις αλυτοις σιδωσει φορτισμα, και σκληροτητι κλοις. Ibid.—ο τε Θεο υιος—τα επεισακτα περιειλεν. c. 22. εκ ανελων τον φυσικον νομον, αλλα παυσας τα δια της δευτερωσεως επεισακτα. Ibid.

⁵ Exod. xx, 24.

⁶ Chap. xxvii.

and the daily offerings were prescribed; in a word, the foundation and frame of the whole Jewish law was laid and formed by the immediate designation of God to Moses, before the people had corrupted themselves by their idolatry. Had these chapters followed after the making of the calf; or had we any reason to imagine that the contents of them were not dictated to Moses until his second going up into the mount⁷, after he had made intercession for the people⁸; there would be some appearance in favour of the argument above stated. But since the several directions contained in these chapters were all evidently given to Moses, before the LORD intimated to him to get him down from the mount, for that the people had corrupted themselves⁹; whatever men of learning may think to offer, to prove that the ritual law had not been intended until the Israelites fell into idolatry, it is indisputably plain, that the fact was otherwise; and that God was delivering to, and instructing Moses in all the parts of it, before the idolatry of the calf was contrived or intended by the people. And agreeably hereto we may observe,

II. That, after Moses had made intercession for the Israelites, and was commanded to renew the tables¹, to erect the tabernacle², and had a visible sign of God's approving it, by the cloud's covering it, and the glory of the LORD filling it, and God's

⁷ Exod. xxxiv, 4, 28.

⁸ Chap. xxxii, 31; xxxiii.

⁹ Chap. xxxii, 7.

¹ Chap. xxxiv, 1.

² Chap. xxxv, xxxvi, xxxvii, xxxviii, xxxix.

speaking unto him out of it'; we may, I say, observe, that in all these things nothing new or before undesigned was done. But the very law was now farther completed, which God before the sin of the calf had in part delivered to them, and it was completed exactly according to, and without any deviation from the directions, which had before the commission of that sin been given unto Moses. And the visible signs of God's presence upon the erecting the tabernacle were exactly according to what God promised him, the first time of his being with him on the mount; namely, that *He would meet him at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, and speak there unto him, and there meet with the children of Israel, and sanctify the tabernacle by his glory, to sanctify the tabernacle and the altar, and Aaron and his sons, and to dwell amongst the children of Israel, and to be their God*³. All these things were promised, before the Israelites set up their idol, exactly according to what was afterwards performed. Therefore, if there be indeed any passages in Scripture, which represent the ritual part of the law as being given upon account of the idolatry of the people, we must find some way to new model the history of Moses, or it will not agree with them. But,

III. There are no texts of Scripture, which intimate, that the ritual law had been given because

³ Exod. xl, 34; Levit. i, 1.

⁴ Chap. xxix, 42, 43, 44, 45.

of the Israelites' idolatry. The abettors of this opinion do indeed commonly cite the words of St. Paul⁵, or of the prophets Jeremiah⁶ and Ezekiel⁷, to countenance their assertion; but it is easy to show, that the passages to which they refer have no such meaning as they would put upon them. For, 1. St. Paul indeed says, *the law was added because of transgressions*⁸; but he does not here treat of the ritual part of the law in opposition to the moral, nor suggest, that any one part of the law was added for the Israelites' not having punctually observed some other part of it; but he speaks of the whole Mosaical dispensation, and argues, that it had been instituted upon account of the wickedness and corruption of the world. When God brought the Israelites out of Egypt, true religion was almost perished from the face of the Earth; for men in all nations were greatly corrupted both in faith and manners. Hereupon God was pleased to choose to himself the house of Jacob, to be a *peculiar treasure unto him above all people*⁹; and he revealed himself to them, and gave them a law, to recal, and to preserve them from going after the heathens to learn their ways, *until the seed should come*¹, *and to shut them up unto the faith, which should afterwards be revealed*², *and to bring them unto CHRIST*³. This is the ar-

⁵ Gal. iii, 19.

⁷ Ezek. xx, 11—26.

⁹ Exod xix, 5.

^{*} Ver. 23.

⁶ Jerem. vii, 22.

⁸ Galat. ubi sup.

¹ Gal. iii, 19.

² Ver. 24.

gument of the apostle in the place cited, which suggests, not that GOD gave the Israelites first a moral law, *just and holy and good*, and afterwards when they would not observe this, then a ritual, weak, and unprofitable law, to punish them for their wickedness and folly; but it represents, that GOD gave them the law, as Moses has related, consisting indeed of divers precepts, and various commands, but all excellently adapted to have had a great effect, if the Jews had not behaved themselves strangely, and defeated the benefits which they might have received from it. But, 2. The Prophet Jeremiah remarks, that GOD *spake not unto the Israelites, nor commanded them, in the day that he brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices*⁴; from whence it is argued, that these were not a part of the religion, which was at first enjoined them. But we shall best see the meaning of the prophet, by considering, what it was that GOD spake unto them at the time he refers to. And we find, that when *Moses went up unto GOD, the LORD called unto him out of the mountain, saying, Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob, and tell the children of Israel; Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto myself. Now, therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then shall ye be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people: for all*

⁴ Jerem. vii, 22.

*the Earth is mine. And ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and a holy nation: These are the words, which thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel. And Moses came, and called for the elders of the people, and laid before their faces all these words, which the LORD commanded him⁵. And thus it was indeed fact, as the prophet represents, that GOD did not speak unto them, nor command them in that day, concerning sacrifices or burnt offerings; I might add, nor concerning the not being guilty of idolatry, of murder, theft, or any other wickedness; but *this thing* he then commanded them, saying, *Obey my voice, and ye shall be my people*. For the covenant was not limited to particular, or to any set of precepts, but it was a general engagement to obey GOD's voice indeed, and to do and perform all the statutes, and judgments, and laws, which GOD should think fit to give them. When Jeremiah prophesied, the Jews were guilty of the highest abominations⁶; and yet they came regularly to the worship at the temple, but without a reformation of their lives⁷. Hereupon the prophet's message to them was, that if they continued in this course, they might *put their burnt offerings to their sacrifices, and eat their flesh*⁸; they might even break through, and not pretend to observe, the legal institutions for their burnt offerings⁹; for*

⁵ Exod. xix, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

⁶ Jerem. vii, 8, 9.

⁷ Ver. 10.

⁸ Ver. 21.

⁹ The law of the burnt offering was, that none of it was to be eaten, but the whole burnt and consumed upon the altar, so that

that GOD would not accept them for an exact performance of one part of his law only, when what he required of them was to *obey his voice*, and to *walk in all the ways that he had commanded them*¹. Thus the design of Jeremiah, in the words before us, appears evidently to be, not to suggest to the Jews that burnt offerings and sacrifices were originally no part of their religion; but to remonstrate to them, that sacrifice and offering was but one part, and that a regularity of their lives and manners was another; and that a due care, not of one or either, but of both these parts of their duty, was enjoined, in the general command given to them, to obey GOD's voice in order to be his people. There remains to be considered, 3. A passage in Ezekiel². Ezekiel represents, that GOD gave the Jews, first his *statutes* and his *judgments*, *which if a man do, he shall even live in them*³; and afterwards, *because they had not executed these judgments, but despised his statutes*, that therefore he gave them *statutes that were not good, and judgments whereby they should not live*⁴. The former of these statutes and judgments are said to be the moral law; and the commands of the ritual law are supposed to be the latter⁵. But I would observe, if the Jews had done what the prophet bids them ver. 21, they had acted contrary to the law for the burnt offering; and his directing them so to do is only hinting to them, that it was of no moment to be exact in their sacrifices, without amending their lives.

¹ Jerem. vii, 23.

² Ezek. xx, 10.

³ Ver. 11.

⁴ Ver. 24, 25.

⁵ Spencer de Legib. Heb. lib. i, c. 1, sec. 2, c. 14, sec. 3.

1. That whatever the statutes were, which are thus said to have been *not good*, whatever were the *judgments, whereby they should not live*; it appeared evidently from the prophet, that they were not given to that generation of men, who received the ritual law; and consequently the ritual law could not be any part of these statutes. The prophet remarks, [that the Israelites, after receiving the law, rebelled against GOD in the wilderness⁶; that GOD had said, he would pour out his fury upon them to destroy them⁷; but that for his name's sake he had not executed this vengeance⁸; yet, that he did determine not to bring THEM into the land of Canaan⁹, though his eye had spared them from destroying and making an end of them¹. Thus, in five verses, he sums up what had happened in GOD's dispensations to the Israelites, from the giving of the law unto the punishment of their misbehaviour at the return of their spies out of Canaan²; during which interval, *how oft did they provoke GOD*³? *yet many a time turned he his anger away, and did not stir up all his wrath*⁴; until at length, though his eye spared them⁵, and he would not *kill all the people as one man*⁶; which had indeed been to destroy and *make an end of them in the wilderness*⁷; yet he *lifted up his hand*, that he

⁶ Ezek. xx, 13.

⁸ Ver. 14.

¹ Ver. 17.

² Psalm lxxviii, 40.

³ Ezek. xx, 17.

⁷ Ezek. xx, 17.

⁷ Ibid.

⁹ Ver. 15.

⁴ Numb. xiv.

⁶ Ver. 38.

⁶ Num. xiv, 15.

would not bring them into the land which he had given them⁸, but denounced against them, that all those who had seen his glory and his miracles, and had tempted him now ten times, and not hearkened to his voice, should surely not see the land, but fall in the wilderness; but that their little ones should be brought into it⁹. After this, the prophet proceeds to relate what happened to their children; that God said unto them, *Walk ye not in the statutes of your fathers—but walk in my statutes, and keep my judgments, and do them*¹. But the children rebelled against God², and because they had not executed his judgments, but had despised his statutes, therefore he gave them statutes that were not good, and judgments whereby they should not live³. Thus it must be undeniably plain, that the prophet could not, by the statutes not good, mean any part of the ritual law; for the whole law was given to the fathers of those, of whom the prophet now speaks; but these statutes were not given to the fathers, but to their descendants. 2. If we go on, and compare the narrative of the prophet with the history of the Israelites, we shall see farther that *statutes and judgments not good* are so far from being any part of Moses's law, that they were not given earlier than the times of the judges. On the first day of the eleventh month of the fortieth year after the exit from Egypt⁴, Moses, after he had numbered

⁸ Ezek xx, 15.

¹ Ezek. xx, 18, 19.

³ Ver. 24, 25.

⁹ Numb. xiv.

² Ver. 21.

⁴ Deut. i, 3.

the people in the plains of Moab, by Jordan near Jericho⁵; and found that there was not left a man of those, whom he had almost forty years before numbered in the wilderness of Sinai, save Caleb and Joshua⁶, by the command of GOD made a covenant with the Israelites in the land of Moab, besides the covenant which he made with them in Horeb⁷. The fathers, who had so often provoked GOD, were now all dead, and here it was, that GOD said unto their children, *Walk ye not in the statutes of your fathers, neither observe their judgments, nor defile yourselves with their idols — but walk in my statutes, and keep my judgments and do them*⁸. Here it was that GOD commanded them, *not to be, as their fathers, a stubborn and rebellious generation, but to set their hearts aright, and to have their spirits stedfast with GOD*⁹. For this was the purport of what Moses gave in charge to them, *that they might teach their children the same, that it might be well with them, and that they and their children might hear, and learn to fear the LORD their GOD, as long as they lived in the land, whither they were going over Jordan to possess it*¹. We do not find, but that from this time to the death of Moses, the Israelites were punctual in observing what he commanded; and after Moses was dead, they served the Lord all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the

⁵ Numb xxvi.⁷ Deut. xxix, 1.⁹ Psalm lxxviii, 8.⁶ Ver. 64, 65.⁸ Ezek. xx, 18, 19.¹ Deut. xxxi, 12, 13.

elders that over-lived Joshua². But when *all that generation were gathered unto their fathers*, then *the children of Israel did evil in the sight of the LORD, and followed other gods, of the gods of the people, that were round about them, and provoked the LORD to anger, and served Baal and Ashtaroth*³; so that here the scene opens, of which Moses had forewarned them⁴, and to which Ezekiel alludes⁵; and accordingly what Ezekiel mentions as the punishments of these wickednesses⁶, began now to come upon them. The prophet remarks, that GOD said, he would pour out his fury upon them, and accomplish his anger against them⁷; and agreeably hereto we find, that *the anger of the LORD was hot against Israel, and he delivered them into the hands of spoilers that spoiled them, and he sold them into the hands of their enemies round about; so that they could not any longer stand before their enemies. Whithersoever they went out, the hand of the LORD was against them for evil; as the LORD had said, and as the LORD had sworn unto them*⁸. The prophet observes, that nevertheless GOD withdrew his hand⁹; and did not proceed entirely to extirpate them; and thus the historian—Nevertheless the LORD raised up judges which delivered them¹. *Many times indeed did he deliver them*, but they went on to provoke him with their behaviour; so that he

² Joshua xxiv, 31; Judges ii, 7.

³ Ver. 10, 11, 12, 13.

⁵ Ezek. xx, 21.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ezek xx, 22.

⁴ Deut. xxxi, 29.

⁶ Ibid.

⁹ Judges ii, 14, 15.

¹ Judges ii, 16.

determined, for their transgressing his covenant, and not hearkening unto his voice, that he would not henceforth drive out any from before them, of the nations which Joshua left when he died². Hereby the Israelites became *mingled with the heathen*³, or, as the prophet expresses it, they were scattered *among the heathen*, and dispersed *through the countries*⁴; they had not a contiguous and united possession of the whole land, but *among the Canaanites, Hittites, and Amorites, and Perizzites, and Hivites, and Jebusites*⁵. Thus what preceded the giving the *statutes that were not good*, brings us down to the days of the Judges; and therefore these statutes were not given earlier than these times. But, 3. Let us examine what these statutes and judgments really were, and when, and how, God gave them to the Israelites; and in order hereto let us observe, 1. That God does in no wise give these statutes and judgments the appellation by which he called the appointments he had made and designed for his people. Of these he says, *I gave them my statutes, and shewed them my judgments*⁶; these were indeed God's laws, intended for the use and observance of his people; but of the *statutes not good, and judgments whereby they should not live*, he says, *I gave them also statutes (not my statutes), and judgments (not my judgments), whereby they should not live*⁷; so that these statutes

² Judges ii, 20, 21.

⁴ Ezek. xx, 23.

⁶ Ezek. xx, 11.

³ Psalm cvi, 35.

⁵ Judges iii, 5.

⁷ Ver. 25.

and judgments were not GOD's statutes or GOD's judgments, though they are said to have been given by him. 2. But the 26th verse suggests, that in giving them these statutes and judgments GOD polluted them in their gifts, in that they caused to pass through the fire all that openeth the womb, that he might make them desolate. What the prophet here means is fully suggested by himself in another place. *Thou hast slain my children, and delivered them, to cause them to pass through the fire for them*⁸. The fact was, they had taken their sons and their daughters, and sacrificed them to be devoured⁹; or, as the Psalmist represents it, *they shed innocent blood, even the blood of their sons and of their daughters, whom they sacrificed unto the idols of Canaan*¹; and the institutions, which directed such performances, were the *statutes not good*, were the *judgments, whereby they should not live*; for these fully answer to the prophet's account. They polluted those, who used them, in their gifts; by observing them *the land was polluted with blood*, and the people *defiled with their own works*²; and they intended to *make them desolate*, by the destruction of their offspring. And GOD may be said to have given them these statutes, either because he gave them up to their own hearts' lusts, to walk in their own counsels³; to learn these practices from their heathen neighbours: thus GOD is said to have hardened

⁸ Ezek. xvi, 21.

⁹ Ver. 20.

¹ Psalm cvi, 38.

² Ver. 38, 39.

³ Psalm lxxxix, 12.

Pharaoh's heart⁴, when Pharaoh really hardened his own heart⁵; and in like manner to have given a lying spirit in the mouth of Ahab's prophets⁶, when in fact they prophesied out of their own hearts⁷; and followed their own spirit, when they had seen nothing⁸; in which sense the Chaldee paraphrast took the passage of Ezekiel⁹: or, more emphatically, God may be said to have given them these statutes, because for their punishment he delivered them into the hands of their enemies, and empowered those who hated them to rule over them¹. These their enemies might set up their abominations amongst them, and make Israel to sin, as their own wicked kings did afterwards in divers reigns. They might give them statutes such as those of Omri²; and by their power over them, influence and oblige them to the observance of them. And God may in a strong sense be said to have given them these statutes, by his giving their enemies power to impose them upon them. I have now fully considered this passage of Ezekiel, and, perhaps, have been too large upon it; but I was

⁴ Exod. iv, 21; vii, 3; ix, 12; x, 1, 20, 27; xi, 10, &c.

⁵ Exod. vii, 13, 22; viii, 15, 19, 32; ix, 7, 34; see vol. ii, b. ix.

⁶ 2 Chron. xviii, 22.

⁷ Ezek. xiii, 2.

⁸ Ver. 3.

⁹ *Projeci eos, et tradidi eos in manum inimicorum suorum, et post concupiscentiam suam insipientem abierunt, et fecerunt decreta non recta, et leges in quibus non vivetis.* Targ. Jonath. in loc.

¹ Psalm cvi, 41.

² Micah vi, 16.

willing to clear it as distinctly as I was able, because great stress has been laid upon it. Dr. Spencer imagined, that this text alone was sufficient to support his hypothesis; but I think, if what has been offered be fairly considered, no honest writer can ever cite it again for that purpose. However, that I may leave no seeming objection to any part of what I have offered, I would farther take notice:

I. Dr. Spencer imagines, that the 26th verse of the xxth chapter of Ezekiel, which we render, *I polluted them in their own gifts, in that they caused to pass through the fire all that openeth the womb, that I might make them desolate*, refers, not to their causing their children to pass through the fire, to the idols of Canaan, as I have above taken it; but he supposes it relates to God's rejecting the first-born of the Israelites from the priesthood, and appointing the tribe of Levi to the sacred offices in their stead³. He would translate the verse to this purport: *I pronounced them polluted in their gifts*, i. e. unfit to offer me any oblations, *in that I passed by all that openeth the womb, in order to humble them, that they might know that I am the LORD*. I answer, this cannot be the meaning of the text. For the Levitical priesthood was instituted, as I have remarked, in the days of the fathers; but the prophet here speaks of something done in the days, not of the fathers, to whom the

³ Spenc. de Leg. Heb. lib. i, c. 8, sec. 2.

law was given, but of their children, of a generation that arose after the appointing the Levites to the sacred offices, and therefore cannot be here supposed to speak of that appointment⁴. Farther, the expression here used, *behanabir col peter racham*, does not signify to pass by or reject the first-born. The verb *nabar*, in the conjugation here used, does sometimes signify, *to set apart* or *choose*⁵; but cannot have, I think, the sense the learned doctor would here give it. *Maas* מַאֵס is the Hebrew verb for *to reject*⁶, and would most probably have been the word here used, if rejecting from the priesthood had been the matter intended by the prophet⁷.

II. Another objection to what I have offered above may arise from the 21st and 23d verses of the xxth of Ezekiel. The prophet may seem in them to hint, that God's anger against the children was whilst they were in the wilderness; and that it was in the wilderness, when he lifted up his hand against them, to scatter them among

⁴ Vid. quæ sup. Chorus est eruditorum virorum, qui de præceptis ceremonialibus hæc intelligunt, et remotione Israelitarum ab altari. Ego vero libere profiteor huic opinioni nunquam me potuisse consentire, ob rationes non leves sane et futiles, sed solidas prægnantesque ex serie orationis. φρασεως insolentia, verbis aliis textui immixtis, antecedentium, consequentiumque nexu, et scripturarum ἀλλήλωςχως petitas. Vitranga Observat. Sac. lib. ii, c. 1.

⁵ Exodus xiii, 12.

⁶ Vid. 1 Sam. viii, 7; x, 19; xvi, 1: 2 Kings xviii, 20: Jer. vi, 30; xiv. 19, et in sexcent. al. loc.

⁷ Vid. Hos. iv, 6.

the heathen; and if so, their provoking God to this anger must have been before they entered Canaan, and therefore not so late as the time wherein I have fixed it. I answer, 1, The history of the Israelites contained in Moses's Books, and those which follow, was written long before Ezekiel prophesied; and as his prophecy could not alter what had been done, so the best interpretation of what he related about them must be that which agrees with their history; and we must not invent facts, or change their history to suit it to any thing contained in his prophecy. And according to their history, the children's provoking God was as I have above stated it. And thus the Psalmist fixes it. After God had *cast out the heathen before them, and divided them an inheritance by line*, then it was that the children *tempted and provoked the most high God, and kept not his testimonies, but turned back, and dealt unfaithfully like their fathers*⁸. 2, But the threatenings of God against the children of the Israelites, whenever they should provoke him, were indeed pronounced to them by Moses in the wilderness, before they entered Canaan⁹. 3. Perhaps this was all that the prophet intended to express by the word, *in the wilderness*, in the verses above-cited. *Then I said I would pour out my fury upon them, to accomplish my anger against them in the wilderness*. The words, *in the wilderness*, do not hint the place

⁸ Psalm lxxviii, 55—57.

⁹ See Deut. xxviii, &c.

where the anger was to be accomplished ; but rather refer to anger, and suggest that the anger was, as we might almost say in English, the *wilderness-anger*, or the anger which God had threatened in the wilderness. 4. Or, the word, *be midbar, in the wilderness*, having occurred twice before, after words the same that are used in these two verses¹, I suspect, that the transcribers, intent upon what they had a little before written, might insert the word again inadvertently in the 21st and 23d verses; when perhaps it was not there repeated in the original copy of the prophecy of Ezekiel.

Moses having made intercession for the people, after the idolatry of the golden calf; at the command of God, made two new tables of stone, like unto those which he had broken, and went up a second time with them to mount Sinai². He continued again on the mount forty days and forty nights, without eating bread or drinking water³; during which time he wrote, as God directed him, the ten commandments upon the two tables⁴, and received the commands set down in the xxxivth chapter of Exodus. After the forty days he came down from the mount with the two tables in his hand; and gathered the congregation together, and instructed them in what had been appointed to him⁵, and required them to make their offerings for erecting the tabernacle⁶. In order to erect the

¹ Ezek. xx, 13—15.

² Ibid. ver. 28.

³ Ver. 11—27.

² Exod. xxxiv.

⁴ Ibid.

⁶ Chap. xxxv, 4.

tabernacle, he had been commanded to tax every Israelite above twenty years old half a shekel⁷, or about fifteen pence of our money⁸. The sum arising from the tax was appointed to be for the service of the tabernacle⁹; and we find that Moses used it for the sockets of the sanctuary, and of the vail, and for hooks for the pillars, and for their chapiters¹. The number of those, who were taxed, were, 603,550 men², and the sum arising from assessing them half a shekel a man, amounted to one hundred talents, and one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five shekels of Jewish money³; so that a Jewish talent consisted of three thousand shekels; for from 603,550 half shekels, or 301,775 shekels, deduct a hundred times three thousand, the number of talents, and the remainder will be one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, which is the number of remaining shekels over and above the talents, and the whole sum raised, at fifteen pence the half shekel, amounts in English coin to £.37,721 17s. 6d. This sum therefore Moses first raised by the assessment, and after he had collected it, he moved the people to a voluntary contribution⁴, as GOD had directed him⁵; which brought in a sufficient quantity of all sorts of

⁷ Exod. xxx, 12—16.

⁸ According to Brerewood, the shekel was a silver coin of about 2s. 6d. value in our money. Dean Prideaux makes it about 3s. See his Connect. vol. i, b. iii, p. 196.

⁹ Exod. xxx, 16.

¹ Chap. xxxviii, 25—28.

² Ver. 26.

³ Ver. 25.

⁴ Chap. xxxv.

⁵ Ver. 2.

materials that were wanted, to the full of what they could have occasion for⁶; so that Moses gave commandment to proclaim through the camp, that the people should make no farther offerings⁷. Bezaliel and Aholiab, being nominated by a special designation from GOD himself, began the tabernacle⁸, and in some months, towards the end of the year, by their direction, and the assistance of the hands employed under them⁹, the tabernacle and its appurtenances, the table of shew-bread, the priests' garments, the holy ointments, the golden candlestick, and all the vessels and utensils for the service of the altar, were finished¹.

The marginal reference in our English Bibles at Exodus xxx, 12, seems to hint, that this numbering the people for the raising the tax for the tabernacle was the very same with that mentioned in Numbers i, 2—5. The number of the poll appears indeed in each place to be to a man the same², and this possibly might lead those who made the reference to mistake, and think that the people had been in truth but once numbered; but it is evident, 1. That the poll mentioned in the first chapter of Numbers was not taken until the first day of the second month of the second year after the exit from Egypt³. 2. The tabernacle was finished a month earlier; for it was

⁶ Exod. xxxvi, 5.

⁷ Ver. 6.

⁸ Chap. xxxv, 30; xxxvi, 1.

⁹ Chap. xxxvi, 1; xxxix, 43; xl, 2.

¹ Chap. xxxix, 32—43.

² Chap. xxxviii, 26; Numb. i, 46.

³ Numb. i, 1.

erected on the first day of the first month⁴. The poll taken for raising the assessment was before the tabernacle was finished; for the silver, which the assessment raised, was applied to the making some parts of the tabernacle⁵; so that the poll for the assessment must have preceded at least above a month earlier than that which is mentioned in the first chapter of Numbers. 4, I imagine it was some months earlier; for surely the numbering and assessing the people preceded the free offering of those who were willing⁶, and was therefore before the workmen began the tabernacle. For when the persons employed in the work of the tabernacle found, that the free offerings had supplied as much of all sorts of materials as were necessary, it was proclaimed through the camp, that no one should offer any more⁷; and therefore had these voluntary offerings been made before the assessment, the assessment would have been superfluous; but we find that it was not so, by the use made of the silver, which came in from it⁸. I therefore think it most probable, that Moses first raised the assessment, then ordered the free will offering, and when the materials were collected he delivered them to the workmen, and appointed them to begin the tabernacle⁹. Now if he proceeded thus, the poll mentioned in the first chapter of Numbers was near six months later than this numbering and assessing the people; for

⁴ Exod. xl, 17.

⁶ Chap. xxxvi, 3.

⁸ Chap. xxxviii, 27, 28.

⁵ Chap. xxxviii, 27, 28.

⁷ Ver. 6.

⁹ Chap. xxxvi. 3.

the tabernacle was probably about five months in making, and the poll in Numbers i was taken a month after finishing and erecting the tabernacle as above. But it may seem very odd, that two different polls of one and the same people, taken thus at two different times, should agree exactly to a man; one would rather imagine, that in a growing people, the number of deaths of the aged could not answer to the advance of young persons to the age they were polled at; but that in the space of one or of six or seven months, there must be a considerable variation in so great a company as the camp of the Israelites. And if we duly attend to it, we find this was the fact in the case before us. The number of men indeed in each poll is the same exactly, there being 603,550 men in each of them¹; but then the same persons were not allowed to be taken down in both the polls. To the first poll came all the Israelites from twenty years old and upwards²; but in the second poll the Levites were not numbered³. When the first poll was taken, I say, all the Israelites were numbered, no tribe excepted; for the Levites were not then separated from the congregation⁴; but at the taking the second poll, the Levites were to be numbered by themselves, and in another manner⁵. And thus at taking the first poll, the whole camp, Levites in-

¹ Exod. xxxviii, 26; Numb. i, 46.

² Exod. xxx, 14.

³ Numb. i, 47.

⁴ The separation of the Levites was at taking the second poll. Numb. iii, 6. God having directed them not to be numbered in it. Chap. i, 48, 49.

⁵ Numb. i, 48; ii, 33.

cluded, consisted of 603,550 men, of and above twenty years old⁶. At the second poll the camp consisted of the like number of 603,550 men⁷, of the age above-mentioned, without any Levites in the computation; so that as many persons were grown up to the age of twenty years in the space of time between taking the two polls, as the number of Levites of twenty years old and upwards at the first poll amounted to, supposing, what I think may be allowed, that no one person died in the camp in this interval⁸.

On the first day of the first month of the second year after the departure out of Egypt, *i. e.* about the middle of our March, A. M. 2514, Moses reared up the tabernacle, and placed the ark in it, and

⁶ Exod. xxxviii, 26.

⁷ Numb. i, 46.

⁸ If we consider the whole body of the Israelites as under the protection of a particular providence, and in hopes, each person for himself and children, of living to go into the promised land: if we add to this, that sickness and an early death were not frequent in these ages, but were thought judgments for particular sins; see vol. ii, b. ix; Numb. xxvii, 3, it will not be hard to imagine that five or six months might pass without a death in the camp. And if we farther reflect, that the younger part of the camp were so numerous, as in about eight or nine and thirty years to grow up into a body of 601,730 men of twenty years old and upwards, without the Levites, and without any of the persons that were now twenty, except Joshua and Caleb, to be numbered amongst them, Numb. xxvi, 51—64, it may not seem improbable that the persons at this time near twenty years old, but not completely so, should be sufficient to afford in five or six months an addition to the camp, not only equal to the number of Levites of twenty years old and upwards, who were taken from it, and who were, I conceive, in number not above eight or ten thousand (see Numbers iv, 48), but also to a farther number of aged men, if any such must be supposed to have died in this interval.

hung up the vail, and put the table of shew-bread in its place, and set the bread in order upon it, and put the candlestick in its place, and lighted the lamps, and placed the golden altar of incense in the tent before the vail; and he burnt sweet incense thereon, and set up the hanging at the door of the tabernacle, and set the laver in its place, and reared up the court round about the tabernacle and the altar, and set up the hanging of the court gate. This is what Moses is represented⁹ to have done this day¹: and all the parts of the tabernacle being ready to be put together, and the ark and altar completely finished, fit for their respective places, all this may very well be conceived to be done in the space of time allotted to it, an hour or two before night. Now when Moses had thus raised the tabernacle, GOD was pleased to give the people a visible and miraculous demonstration, that it was erected according to his directions; for a cloud covered the tent of the congregation, and the glory of the LORD filled the tabernacle². And this visible evidence of the divine presence continued from this time, until the Israelites had finished their journeys through the wilderness; *for the cloud of the LORD was upon the tabernacle by*

⁹ Exodus xl, 17—33.

¹ What is mentioned ver. 31, 32, that Moses and Aaron and his sons washed their hands and feet at the laver, was not now done; but at such times as they went into the tent of the congregation, or approached the altar, and is here set down only to tell the use of the laver.

² Exod. xl, 34.

*day, and fire was on it by night, in the sight of all the house of Israel throughout all their journeys; and when the cloud was taken up from over the tabernacle, the children of Israel went onward in all their journeys. But if the cloud were not taken up, then they journeyed not till the day that it was taken up*³. Thus GOD was pleased to appoint himself, as it were, a visible dwelling amongst men; for the tabernacle was built, that he might dwell amongst his people⁴, that there might be a known and determined place, where he would at all times vouchsafe to meet them and commune with them⁵, and give them a sensible evidence of his being nigh unto them in all things, that they might have occasion to call upon him for⁶; and this was the first structure which was erected in the world for the purposes of religion⁷. The Israelites had a most strict charge to *destroy utterly all the places, wherein the nations of Canaan had served their gods, whether they were upon the high mountains, or upon the hills, or under green trees*⁸. But we do not find, that they had any building to erase; rather all they had to do was to *overthrow their altars, to break their pillars, to cut down, and to burn their groves with fire, to hew down the graven images of their gods, and to destroy the names of them out of the place where they had erected them*⁹. In after-

³ Exod. xl, 36, 37, 38; see Numb. ix, 15—23.

⁴ Exod. xxv, 8.

⁵ Exod. xxv, 22; xxix, 43—45.

⁶ Deut. iv, 7.

⁷ See vol. ii. b. viii.

⁸ Deut. xii, 2.

⁹ Ver. 3; vii. 5: Exod. xxxiv, 13; xxiii, 24.

times, when houses were built for the idolatrous worship, we find express mention of the demolishing them, by the persons who engaged in reforming the people. Thus Jehu brake down the house of Baal¹, as did Jehoiada in like manner²; and the Israelites would unquestionably have been as expressly commanded to demolish such structures, had there been any, when they entered Canaan: the heathen nations had no thought of building houses to their gods, until after the Israelites had their tabernacle.

When the glory first covered the tabernacle, Moses could not enter into it, because the cloud abode thereon, and the glory of the LORD filled it³; and it continued to do so most probably for some days, during which *the LORD called unto Moses, and spake unto him out of the tabernacle of the congregation*⁴, and delivered to him, in an audible voice, the several laws recorded in the first eight chapters of Leviticus; after receiving which, Moses proceeded to anoint the tabernacle, the altar, and all its vessels, and to consecrate Aaron and his sons to the priests' offices⁵. Aaron first officiated as high priest on the eighth day after the beginning of his consecration⁶, and his consecration might be begun on the fifth day of the month; so that he might enter upon his ministry on the twelfth.

¹ 2 Kings x, 27.

² 2 Kings xi, 18; 2 Chron. xxiii, 17.

³ Exodus xl, 34, 35.

⁴ Chap. viii.

⁵ Levit. i, 1.

⁶ Chap. ix, 1—8.

We cannot suppose his consecration sooner, allowing a due space of time for the giving and receiving and recording the laws above-mentioned; nor can we imagine it later upon account of celebrating the passover, which was to be on the fourteenth, and which was not celebrated until after the deaths of Nadab and Abihu; for we find at the passover, that *there were certain men, who were defiled by the dead body of a man, that they could not keep the pass-over*⁷. These I think must have been Mishaël and Elzaphan, who had carried Nadab and Abihu, from before the sanctuary out of the camp⁸; so that their deaths happened just before the passover, on the very first day of Aaron's ministration; for whilst he was ordering the bullock and the ram for the peace-offering⁹, when the fire came out from before the LORD, and consumed the burnt-offering and fat upon the altar¹, Nadab and Abihu, two of Aaron's sons, took each of them a censer, and put fire therein, and put incense thereon, and offered strange fire before the LORD, which he commanded them not, and there went out fire from before the LORD and struck them dead². This unhappy accident must have occasioned some interruption in the ministration; Aaron and his two other sons were undoubtedly affected with it, but Moses applied to them, and required them to suppress their grief for the calamity, and not to accompany the

⁷ Numbers ix, 6.

⁹ Chap. ix, 18.

² Chap. x, 1, 2.

⁸ Levit. v, 4.

¹ Ver. 24.

dead bodies out of the tabernacle, lest the displeasure of God should arise against them³. Aaron's heart seems here to have almost sunk within him; and I imagine, he would have taken some refreshment to support his spirits against the load of sorrow which now pressed heavy upon him; and that this occasioned the command now given him, *Do not drink wine, nor strong drink, thou nor thy sons with thee, when ye go into the tabernacle of the congregation, lest ye die; it shall be a statute for ever throughout your generations*⁴. Moses ordered the dead bodies of Nadab and Abihu to be carried out of the tabernacle and out of the camp⁵; and then called upon Aaron, and his sons who were left, to finish the day's service⁶; but upon inquiry he found, that the sin-offering, which ought to have been eaten by the priests in the holy place⁷, was burnt and consumed⁸. He represented to the sons of Aaron their mistake in this matter⁹; but Aaron made excuse for it, and alleged, that such judgments had been inflicted that day, as to give him reason to doubt, whether it might be proper for him to finish the atonement. Aaron said unto Moses, *Behold, this day have they offered their sin-offering, and their burnt offering before the LORD, and such things have befallen me; and if I had eaten the sin-offering to day, should it have been accepted in*

³ Levit. x, 6, 7.

⁵ Ver. 4.

⁷ Chap. vi, 26.

⁹ Ver. 17.

⁴ Ver. 8, 9.

⁶ Ver. 12—15.

⁸ Chap. x, 16.

*the sight of the LORD*¹? Some of the commentators represent, that Aaron thought himself, upon account of the grief and concern he was then under, not to be in a fit disposition to eat the sin-offering²; others, that it would have been indecorous for him to have done it³; but they do not consider the charge which Moses had given him: the Hebrew text suggests what I have hinted to be Aaron's apology. *Aaron said unto Moses, Behold this day have they offered their sin offering and their burnt offering* (וְהִקְרָאנוּ אֹתִי כֹאֵלָה⁴) *vattikrenah oti caelleh*, the verb *vattikrenah* is the plural feminine, and refers to the offerings; and what Aaron suggests is, that the ministrations already performed had called down upon him the judgments which had been inflicted; and that for this reason he feared they had profaned the services of the day, and therefore that he did not presume to go on to finish them, but had burnt the goat, instead of reserving it to be eaten, according to the orders, which he should have observed, if their officiating had been so conducted, as to give him reason to

¹ Levit. x, 19.

² They comment upon the words thus; *Agnosco quidem comedendum fuisse et cum lætitia, sed qui potui lætari? Malui igitur convivium negligere, quam mæstus inire. Vid. Pool. Synops. in loc.*

³ *Indecorum fuisset patrem convivari carne victimæ, in qua offerenda duos filios subito amiserat. Cleric. Comment. in loc.*

⁴ The verb קרא, in the conjugation here used, has this sense. Jer. xxxii, 23.

think it would have been accepted in the sight of the LORD. This, indeed, seems a reasonable excuse, and we find Moses was contented with it⁵; and pressed him no farther to finish the remaining offices of that day's service.

It may be here asked, what so great crime were Nadab and Abihu guilty of, that they paid so dear a price as to lose their lives by an immediate vengeance? But the answer is easy; the great end and purpose of the Mosaic dispensation was, to separate unto GOD a chosen people, who should be careful to obey his voice indeed, and who, instead of being like other nations, following and practising, as parts of their religion, what men might invent, set up, and think proper and reasonable, should diligently and strictly keep to what GOD had enjoined, without turning therefrom to the right hand or to the left, or without adding to the word which was commanded them, or diminishing ought from it. But herein these young men greatly failed; GOD had as yet given no law for offering incense in censers; all that had been commanded about it was, that Aaron should burn it upon the altar of incense every morning and every evening⁶. Afterwards he received farther directions⁷; so that these men took upon them to begin and introduce a service into religion, which was not appointed; they offered *what the LORD com-*

⁵ Levitic. x, 20.

⁶ Exodus xxx, 7.

⁷ Levitic. xvi, 1—12,

*manded them not*⁸. Now, if this had been suffered, it would have opened a door to great irregularities; and the Jewish religion would in a little time have been, not what GOD had directed, but have abounded in many human inventions added to it. Aaron and his sons were *sanctified to minister in the priests' office*⁹, for this end, that they should *remember the commandments of the LORD to do them*, not that they should *seek after their own heart*¹. They could not have taken upon themselves the offices of their priesthood, if they had not been called of GOD to them²; and as they were called of GOD to them, it was their indispensable duty to be *faithful to him that appointed them in all his house*³, in every part of the dispensation committed to them. *This, said Moses, is that which the LORD spake, saying, I will be sanctified in them that come nigh me, and before all the people I will be glorified*⁴. They then only sanctified and glorified GOD, when they dispensed to his people, as parts of his religion, what he had commanded; but when they varied from it, or performed or enjoined, as part of it, what he commanded not, then they assumed to themselves a power which belonged not to them; then they spake and acted of themselves, and *he that in these points speaketh of himself, seeketh not GOD's, but his own glory*⁵.

⁸ Levitic. x, 1.

¹ Numbers xv, 39.

³ Chap. iii, 2.

⁵ John vii, 18.

⁹ Exodus xxix, 44.

² Hebrews v, 4.

⁴ Levitic. x, 3.

GOD had directed that the Israelites should keep the passover at its appointed season⁶; and accordingly they prepared for it against the fourteenth day of the month at even, in order to observe it according to the rites thereof⁷. But on the fourteenth day a doubt arose about the persons who had touched the dead bodies of Nadab and Abihu, whether they were fit to keep the passover⁸; Moses inquired of GOD about them, and received an order, that all persons hindered by such an accident, or that were on a journey, should keep the passover a month after their brethren⁹. We have no account of any thing done more, until the first day of the second month; so that we have here sixteen days interval, in which space, I imagine, the laws recorded in Leviticus, from the beginning of the xith chapter to the end of that book, were given, except the laws contained in the three last chapters; for these were given to Moses, not at the door of the tabernacle but upon the mount¹. The son of Shelomith, the daughter of Dibri, of the tribe of Dan, was stoned for cursing and blaspheming about this time².

On the first day of the second month, A. M. 2514, Moses was commanded to take the number of the congregation by a poll of every male of twenty years old and upwards³, excepting the

⁶ Numb. ix, 1, 2.

Id. ibid.

Chap. xxv, 1; xxvi. 46; xxvii, 34.

Levit. xxiv, 10.

⁷ Ver. 6.

⁸ Ver. 10, 11.

⁹ Numb. i, 1, 2, 3.

Levites, who were not to be here numbered⁴. And in order to taking this poll, twelve persons were named to be princes of the tribes of their fathers⁵; and they assembled their tribes, and gave in, upon this first day of the month, each the names and number of the persons in the tribe over which he was set⁶. After this Moses received a command to appoint the order, in which the host of the Israelites was to march and encamp⁷. In the next place he was directed to take the number of the Levites; and to appoint to their several families their respective services, and to set apart the whole tribe for the ministry of the tabernacle⁸. In the more ancient times, the first-born of every family was to be the minister of religion⁹; but in the Jewish institution God thought fit to dismiss the first-born from this service, and to direct the Levites to be dedicated to him, instead of them¹. As many Levites as were over and above the first-born of the Levites, who, by being the first-born, were before this institution holy unto the LORD; so many of the first-born of the other tribes were discharged from attending upon the service of the tabernacle. Accordingly, there being twenty and two thousand Levites², these were accepted instead of so many of the first-born males of the children of Israel. The whole number of the first-born of

⁴ Numb. i, 49.

⁶ Ver. 18.

^{*} Chap. iii.

¹ Numb. iii, 12.

⁵ Ver. 4—17.

⁷ Numb. ii.

⁸ See vol. i, b. 5.

² Numb. iii, 39.

the Israelites were twenty-two thousand, two hundred, threescore and thirteen³. The whole number of the Levites were, of the sons of Gershon, seven thousand five hundred⁴; of the sons of Kohath, eight thousand six hundred⁵; of the sons of Merari, six thousand two hundred⁶; in all twenty-two thousand three hundred; and yet we are told that there were two hundred threescore and thirteen of the first born of the children of Israel more than the Levites⁷; that is, more than there were Levites to be accepted instead of them. But this difficulty is easy to be accounted for; because many of the Levites were the first-born of their families, namely, three hundred of them; so that there remained twenty-two thousand only, who were not first-born, and might therefore be accepted instead of the first-born of the other tribes; and thus we must understand the 39th verse of the iiii chapter of Numbers. *All that were numbered of the Levites, which Moses and Aaron numbered, at the commandment of the LORD, throughout their families; all the males from a month old and upwards were twenty and two thousand⁸*. All that were numbered, *i. e.* in order to be taken instead of the first-born, were so many; for if the first-born Levites be included, if the sum of the whole tribe be taken, they amount to three hundred more, as any one may see by putting together the several

³ Numb. iii, 43.

⁵ Ver. 28.

⁷ Ver. 46.

⁴ Ver. 22.

⁶ Ver. 34.

⁸ Ver. 39.

sums of the three families⁹. But there being three hundred first-born Levites, and twenty-two thousand two hundred threescore and thirteen first-born Israelites of the other tribes; there would indeed remain two hundred threescore and thirteen first-born more than there were Levites to answer them; therefore for these GOD ordered five shekels of the sanctuary a-piece, to be taken in lieu of each of them¹. The laws mentioned in the vth, vith, and viiith chapters of Numbers, were given about this time, and the Levites were consecrated to their ministry, according to all that the LORD had commanded²; and when all this was done, and the tabernacle hereby fully set up³, all its officers and ministers being duly appointed, the princes of the tribes made their offerings⁴. The princes offered each on a day by himself⁵; so that they were twelve days bringing in their respective offerings. The camp began to march on the twentieth day⁶; the offerings were therefore over, probably, a day or two before the twentieth, and must therefore have begun on the fifth or sixth day; and consequently what I have mentioned, as previous to the princes' offerings, from the polling the people to

⁹ Numb. iii, 22, 28, 34.

¹ The shekel of the sanctuary is, as I have before computed it, about two shillings and sixpence of our money; so that they paid each man about twelve shillings and sixpence for his redemption.

² Numb. viii, 20.

⁴ Ver. 2.

⁶ Chap. x, 11.

³ Chap. vii, 1.

⁵ Ver. 11.

the finishing the consecration of the Levites, took up four or five days. About the eighteenth day of the month, Moses had two silver trumpets made⁷, for calling of an assembly⁸, or to summon to a meeting the heads of the congregation⁹, or for the blowing an alarm for marching the camp¹; and on the twentieth day the cloud was taken off from the tabernacle, and the Irraelites prepared to march in due order²; and by the direction of the cloud, they journeyed three days together, from the wilderness of Sinai into the wilderness of Paran³. Before they began their march, Moses asked Hobab, the son of Jethro, his father-in-law, to continue with them, but he was desirous to return into his own land, and to his kindred⁴. Moses was unwilling to part with him, and represented how serviceable

⁷ Numbers x, 2.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ver. 4.

¹ Ver. 5.

² Ver. 11.

³ Ver. 12.

⁴ There appears some little confusion in the Scripture accounts of Jethro, from the different names given him in different places; but it is no unusual thing to find many names given to one and the same person. From Numbers x. 29 it appears that Jethro was called Raguel, and from Judges iv, 11, that he was also called Hobab. He had a son also, whose name was Hobab, Numbers x, 29; but there is no room for a careful reader to mistake the one Hobab for the other. Some learned writers have indeed imagined, that Jethro did not leave Moses, but went with him through the wilderness; but Moses says expressly, that Jethro went his way into his own land. Exod. xviii, 27. Hobab indeed went on with Moses, but not Hobab, Moses's father-in-law, which had been Jethro; but Hobab, the son of Moses's father-in-law, or the son of Jethro.

he might be to them in their travels⁵, and made him such offers as induced him not to leave them⁶; and accordingly we find his posterity settled afterwards in Canaan⁷.

Upon the cloud's resting in the wilderness of Paran, the camp being thereby stopped from marching any farther, the Israelites grew uneasy⁸, and complained, perhaps for not being carried directly into Canaan. Their uneasiness was offensive to God, and he destroyed many of them with fire from Heaven for it⁹; but upon Moses's prayer the fire ceased¹. In a little time they murmured at having nothing to eat but manna, and were very vexatious to Moses in soliciting him to obtain some other diet for them². Moses, quite tired out with their restless humours, begged earnestly that God would be pleased, some way or other, to ease him of the great burden which lay upon him³. Hereupon God ordered him to choose seventy elders out of the officers, whom he had employed over the people⁴. After Moses had chosen them, God was pleased to give them a portion of his spirit to qualify them for the employment they were designed for⁵. Sixty-eight of the seventy came up unto Moses to the tabernacle, upon being chosen. But Eldad and Medad, two, whom Moses had

⁵ Numb. x, 31.

⁷ Judges i, 16.

⁹ Ibid.

² Ver. 4—6.

⁴ Ver. 16.

⁶ Ver. 32.

⁸ Numb. xi, 1.

¹ Ver. 2.

³ Ver. 11—15.

⁵ Ver. 17.

nominated, seemed desirous to decline the honour which was offered them, esteemed themselves, perhaps, not equal to the undertaking, and therefore they went not out unto the tabernacle, but remained in the camp⁶. But GOD was pleased to convince them, that he could readily give abilities for any employment to which he should call them; and therefore he enabled them to prophesy in the camp, as the others did at the tabernacle⁷. Eldad and Medad's prophesying in the camp was soon reported to Moses, and Joshua the son of Nun thought it would be expedient for Moses to forbid them⁸; supposing it would lessen Moses's authority, if these two men, who, by their not coming up to the tabernacle, might appear to have no commission under him, should be thought to have, and be allowed to use this privilege. But Moses having no aim to his own glory, remonstrated, that he wished *all the LORD's people were prophets, and that the LORD would put his spirit upon them*⁹. This would have truly eased his burthen; for if GOD would have thus immediately revealed his will to every Israelite, all Moses's labour would have been at an end, and the people, from the highest to the lowest, would all have known what they were to do as well as himself, and he, not seeking his own honour, nor having at heart his private interest, but sincerely desiring to be *faithful to him to him that ap-*

⁶ Numb. xi. 26.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ver. 27, 28.

⁹ Ver. 29.

*pointed him*¹, would have sincerely rejoiced to see the purpose and design of GOD thus effectually taking place amongst his people. The elders went down with Moses into the camp², and GOD sent a wind, which brought great quantities of quails³, which the people took and dried and salted for their eating⁴. But though GOD sent them this food upon their impatience, yet he punished them for their mutinous temper⁵, and by a plague cut off those, who had required this provision. They called the name of the place Kibroth Hattaavah, because they buried the people here who lusted⁶,

¹ Hebrews iii, 2.

² Numb. xi, 30.

³ Numb. xi, 31. Our English version represents the quails as having lain round about the camp as it were two cubits (or a yard) high; but there is no word in the Hebrew text for the number two. The Hebrew word כַּאֲמֵתִים signifies, *as it were cubits high*, expressing no determinate measure, but in general a considerable height. In like manner we say, *he that gathered least, gathered ten homers*, ver. 32, a surprising quantity, if a homer be, as is by some computed, five of our English bushels and a half. But, perhaps, the word we here render *homers*, was not intended to signify in this place the particular Jewish measure so called, but should rather have been rendered *heaps* in general, without defining the quantity, which each heap contained. It is thus used Exod. viii, 14, and we may well suppose that each man gathered ten heaps; but five and fifty bushels a man does not seem a quantity likely to have been gathered by them.

⁴ This management of quails, in order to preserve them, was usual amongst the heathens. Athen. Deipnos. lib. ix, c. 11.

⁵ Psalm. cvi, 15; lxxviii, 30, 31; Numb. xi, 33.

⁶ Numb. xi, 34.

After the plague ceased, they journeyed hence to Hazeroth⁷.

At Hazeroth, Miriam and Aaron spake against Moses for his having married a foreigner, a woman, who was not of the children of his people; for he had married the daughter of Jethro the Cushite or Arabian⁸. *Moses was very meek, above all the men which were upon the face of the earth*⁹; and the exceeding goodness of his temper led Miriam and Aaron most warmly to oppose him upon this subject. There appears to have been no law given, which could directly affect the case of Moses. Whether Aaron inferred that this marriage was wrong, from what had been¹ enjoined the priests, thinking Moses obliged in every respect to as great strictness as they could be, I cannot say. However, he and Miriam would admit of no plea in Moses's favour, but contended that they knew as well as he what was lawful, and what was not²; for that God had revealed his will to them as to him. This dispute might have had a very unhappy effect upon the people; for if the persons, whom they all knew to have been favoured with immediate revelations from God's will, had thus evidently differed and contradicted one another about it, how should the congregation know by whom to be directed? Parties and divisions would have arisen from such contests; but God

⁷ Numb. xi, 35.

⁹ Numb. xii, 3.

² Numb. xii, 2.

⁸ Chap. xii, 1; See vol. i, b. iii.

¹ Levit. xxi, 14.

was pleased to interpose upon this occasion. *The LORD came down in the pillar of the cloud to the door of the tabernacle, and called Aaron and Miriam*³, and observed to them, that he had never revealed his will to either of them, or to any others, in so extraordinary a manner as he had done to Moses⁴, and that therefore they ought to have been afraid to speak against and contradict him⁵; and in order to justify Moses to the whole congregation, Miriam was struck with a leprosy, and ordered to be put out of the camp for seven days⁶; after that, by Moses's prayer for her, she was recovered⁷. Upon her re-admission into the camp, the Israelites removed from Hazeroth further on, in the wilderness of Paran⁸.

From the place where they now encamped, Moses, by God's command, sent twelve persons, having chosen one out of each tribe, to go as spies into the land of Canaan⁹, to take a view, and to bring an account of the land and its inhabitants. The twelve persons appointed took their journey, and went over the land, and in forty days returned back to the camp¹. At their return, the congregation was summoned to receive their report², which, as to the fruitfulness of the land, was very agreeable; but they represented the large stature

³ Numb. xii, 5.

⁵ Ibid.

⁷ Ver. 13.

⁹ Chap. xiii, 2.

² Ver. 26—31.

⁴ Ver. 6—8.

⁶ Ver. 10, 14.

⁸ Ver. 16.

¹ Ver. 21—25.

and strength of the inhabitants, so as to intimidate the people, and to induce them to think themselves in no wise able to conquer it³. The camp grew into a great ferment upon this representation, and a false report of the goodness of the country gat about, and increased the discontent, notwithstanding all that Caleb, who had been one of the spies, could offer to appease it⁴; and at last such a spirit was raised among the people, that they were for making themselves a captain to lead them back to Egypt⁵. Moses and Aaron expressed the deepest concern at this strange infatuation⁶; and Caleb and Joshua made the utmost efforts to reduce the camp to a better temper. They remonstrated, that the land was certainly exceeding good; that it was GOD's design to give it to them; that since GOD was for them, the strength of the Canaanites against them was not to be feared; that to return to Egypt would be a rebellion against GOD, who had so miraculously delivered, preserved, and appointed them for this undertaking⁷. What they said was far from having the designed effect. The people were rather transported by it to greater fury, and were for having Joshua and Caleb immediately stoned⁸; but the glory of the LORD appeared in the tabernacle of the congregation, in a manner visible to all the people⁹. Such

³ Numb. xiii, 27—31.

⁴ Chap. xiv, 4.

⁵ Ver. 6—9.

⁶ Ver. 10

⁴ Ver. 30—33.

⁶ Ver. 5.

⁸ Ver. 10.

an obstinacy as they were now guilty of, was an exceeding great sin against God; however Moses was admitted to intercede, that the whole congregation should not be destroyed¹. But God determined, that for this offence, none of the persons who had seen his glory and his miracles done in Egypt, and had thus rebelled against him, should come into the land of Canaan²; for their entrance into the land should now be deferred until forty years were expired from their exit out of Egypt, before which time all that generation, who were twenty years old and upwards, when Moses and Aaron numbered them after the exit out of Egypt, except Caleb and Joshua, should die in the wilderness³. Moses told the people these things, at the hearing whereof they mourned greatly⁴. They were now desirous to attempt to enter the land; but Moses cautioned them against it⁵, assuring them, that God would not now give them success. However, they would march; but the Amalekites and Canaanites smote them and discomfited them unto Hormah⁶. The laws contained in the xvth chapter of Numbers, seem to have been given within the forty days, when the spies were travelling over the land of Canaan; about which time I suppose that the man was stoned, who gathered sticks on the Sabbath-day⁷.

¹ Numb. xiv, 11—20.

² Ver. 22—38.

³ Ver. 41, 42, 43.

⁷ Chap. xv, 32—36.

² Ibid. 22, 23.

⁴ Ver. 39.

⁶ Ver. 44, 45.

There is a passage in the speech of Joshua and Caleb, upon which the Jewish Rabbins founded a most whimsical conceit. Joshua and Caleb represent, that, as to the Canaanites, *their* defence was *departed from them*⁸. The Hebrew word is צלם *Tzillam*, *their shadow*, upon which the Rabbins thus comment: they say, that on the night of the seventeenth day of the seventh month, GOD showed his people by the moon-shine, what should happen to them in the year following⁹. They pretended, that if any one went out into the moon shine in that night in a proper dress, he would see the shadow of his body diverse, according to what would happen to him. The shadow of his hand held out would want a finger, if he was to lose a friend that year. His right-hand would cast no shadow, if his son was to die; his left-hand, if his daughter. If the person himself was to die, then his shadow would appear a head, or, perhaps, his body cast no shadow at all, *his shadow being departed from him*. It would be trifling to endeavour to show that Caleb and Joshua intended nothing of this sort. The use of the word shadow for protection is an easy metaphor. The strength of the Israelites was thought by Joshua and Caleb to be the LORD's being with them; under which consideration they

⁸ Numbers xiv, 9.

⁹ Buxtorf. Synagog. Judiac. c. xvi, p. 363.

looked upon the Canaanites as deserted of God, and therefore unable to bear up against them. This was the whole of what they endeavoured to represent to the people; but no expression of Scripture can be so clear and express, which superstition may not turn to fancy and fable. The Greeks had a whim about the shadow of those who entered¹ the temple of the Arcadian Jupiter, not altogether unlike this fiction of the Rabbins; and the Monkish tale, which some of our vulgar people can still tell, of their shadow in the night of St. Mark's festival, was, perhaps, derived from it.

Moses was ordered to lead the Israelites back towards the Red Sea again²; and after their unsuccessful attempt against the Canaanites³, they began their retreat. We hear but little more of them for about thirty-seven years; during which time they marched up and down the wilderness, and made seventeen encampments⁴, from their leaving Rithmah in the wilderness of Paran⁵, to their coming to Kadesh in the wilderness of Zin⁶. Their being obliged to make this retreat, and deferring their entrance into Canaan, raised discontents among them, and very probably occasioned the rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, which

¹ Θεοπομπος φησας, τες εις το τε Διος αβατον εμβαλτας καί
 Ἀρκαδιαν ασκιες γιγνεσθαι. Vid. Polyb. Hist. lib. xvi, c. 11.

² Numb. xiv, 25.

³ Ver. 44, 45.

⁴ Chap. xxxiii, 19—36.

⁵ Compare xii, 16, with xxxiii, 18.

⁶ Chap. xxxiii, 36.

happened about this time. Two hundred and fifty princes of the assembly were concerned in it⁷; and many thousands of the people, as may be supposed from the number of those who perished by the plague⁸, were swallowed up in the earth⁹, or consumed by the fire¹. The heads of the conspiracy were, Korah a Levite, Dathan and Abiram the sons of Eliab, and On the son of Peleth, of the tribe of Reuben. They contended, that there was no reason for so great subjection to, and dependence upon Moses and Aaron²; that the priesthood ought not to have been appropriated to Aaron and his family; for that *all the congregation was holy, every one of them; and the LORD amongst them*³. They remonstrated against Moses, that he had brought them out of Egypt, a very plentiful country; that he had no real intention ever to bring them into Canaan; that he designed only to carry them about, through innumerable difficulties, until he could inure them to servitude, and make himself altogether a prince over them⁴; that to deny this to be his aim, would suppose that the people had no eyes to see the situation of their affairs, and the prospects which were before them⁵. Moses had by express command from God denounced to the congregation, that not one of them, except Caleb and Joshua, should enter into

⁷ Numb. xvi, 1, 2.⁸ Ver. 32.⁹ Ver. 3.¹ Ver. 3, 13.² Ver. 49.³ Ver. 35.⁴ Ibid.⁵ Ver. 14.

Canaan; that all the rest who were above twenty years old, when they were polled after coming out of Egypt, should die in the wilderness, and the younger generation only should come into the land⁶. This had put them all into so great a ferment, that even a miraculous interposition of the divine power was not immediately sufficient to subdue the spirit of their rebellion; for we read, that on the morrow after the earth had swallowed up Dathan and Abiram and all that belonged to them⁷, after Korah and his company were consumed with fire from the LORD⁸, all the congregation murmured against Moses and against Aaron, and accused them of having killed the LORD's people⁹. But hereupon GOD sent a plague among them, and took off fourteen thousand by it¹, and also gave them a farther evidence by the blossoming of Aaron's rod, that he was the person whom GOD had appointed to be priest for his people². After the punishment of the plague, and the testimony of the farther miracle in Aaron's rod, their opposition ceased³; Aaron's rod was by divine command laid up in the tabernacle in memory of this miraculous confirmation of his priesthood⁴. The people expressed themselves now convinced, that whoever presumed to intrude into the service of the tabernacle, would be pursued by divine vengeance unto death⁵.

⁶ Numb. xiv, 28—33.

⁸ Ver. 35.

¹ Ver. 49.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ver. 10.

⁷ Chap. xvi, 32.

⁹ Ver. 41.

² Chap. xvii.

⁵ Ibid.

The laws, mentioned in the xviiith and xixth chapters of Numbers, were given about this time.

Whilst the Israelites were in the wilderness, some writers suppose that Sesostris was king of Egypt; and that he raised a powerful army, and conquered a great part of the then known world. They suppose him to be the son of Pharaoh, who in pursuit of the Israelites was drowned in the Red Sea. Archbishop Usher was of this opinion⁶; and the late learned bishop Cumberland endeavours to support it⁷. The substance of what he argues upon the subject amounts to, 1. That Sesostris was the brother of the Grecian Danaus; and, therefore, since Danaus is confessed to have lived about the time of Moses⁸, that Sesostris must be likewise placed in the same age. 2. That according to the testimony of the ancient writers, Sesostris was the son of Aménophis, the Pharaoh who was drowned in the Red Sea. If indeed either of these assertions can be supported, Sesostris must be placed in these times. But if both these arguments may be refuted, Aristotle's general opinion, cited by the learned bishop, that Sesostris lived before Minos⁹, or Apollonius's supposing that he planted colonies in Colchis before the Argonautic expedition¹, or Pliny's hinting that he lived before the Trojan

⁶ Annals, A. M. 2522, p. 21.

⁷ Sanchoniatho. sect. 4, p. 387.

⁸ See vol. ii, b. viii.

⁹ Aristot. Polit. lib. vii, c. 10.

¹ Apollon. Argonaut. lib. iv.

war, will be of no great weight; for it is known, that very considerable writers have mistaken the true time of the reign of Sesostris².

I. Bishop Cumberland contends, that Danaus and Sesostris were brothers; but a supposed citation from Manetho in Josephus, is the only proof of this fraternity³. Manetho is supposed to have said, that Sesostris was called *Ægyptus*, and that Armais his brother was Danaus. I must confess, I suspect this passage; for the words cited seem not to be those of Manetho, but of Josephus⁴. Josephus, after having given a large citation from Manetho, adds what, I conceive, he inferred from him to be true. And I rather think so, because nothing which comes up to what is here cited, appears in the remains of Manetho, as transmitted to us by either Africanus or Eusebius; though they have both given us the list of kings cited by Josephus, and one of them some words of Manetho, from which Josephus might probably make his inference. Africanus transmits to us the series of kings, but has not remarked any relation between any two of them⁵. But Eusebius at the name of Armes or Armais, calls him also Danaus, and records that he reigned in Egypt five years, and then fled out of the kingdom from his brother

² See Pref. to vol. ii.

³ Joseph. contra Apion. lib. i, c. 15.

⁴ The words in Josephus are, λέγει γὰρ οὗτις ὁ μὲν Σεδωσις ἐκαλεῖτο Αἰγύπτιος, Ἀρμαῖς δὲ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Δαναός.

⁵ Vid. Syncell. Chronograph. p. 72.

Ægyptus, and went to Greece, and reigned at Argos⁶; so that from Ensebius it seems probable, that Manetho had hinted that Danaus and Ægyptus were brothers. Josephus supposed that Ægyptus and Sesostris were one and the same person; and hence concluded, that Manetho had suggested Danaus and Sesostris to be so related. This seems to me to be the foundation of what is cited in and from Josephus. That Danaus was indeed the brother of Ægyptus, may be proved from many ancient writers⁷; but it appears evident, from divers circumstances recorded concerning each of them, that Ægyptus and Sesostris were not the same person. Belus the son of Neptune and Libya married Anchinoë daughter of Nilus, and had two sons by her, Ægyptus and Danaus⁸. Thus it appears, that these two persons were brothers; but if we pursue the history of Ægyptus, we may evidently see that he and Sesostris were not the same person. Ægyptus had fifty sons, as Danaus had fifty daughters⁹; but Sesostris had only six children¹. Ægyptus was indeed treacherously dealt with by his brother Danaus, and so was Sesostris by a brother; but in a manner very

⁶ Syncell. Chronograph. p. 73 : Euseb. Chron. p. 16.

⁷ Apollod. lib. ii, c. i ; Chron. Alexandrin. Cedren. lib. i ; Euseb. in Chronic. ib. ; Prideaux in Not. Historic. ad Chron. Marmor. Ep. ix.

⁸ Apollod. lib. ii. c. i ; Not. Eustath. et Didymi in Homer. Il. α. ver. 42.

⁹ Ibid. ibid. Pausan in Corinth. c. 25.

¹ Herodot. lib. ii, c. 107.

different. It is a known story, how the fifty daughters of Danaus were married, each of them to a son of Ægyptus, and how all of them, except one, killed their husbands, by the order of Danaus their father. Thus Danaus attempted to have his brother's family extinct²; but the attempt upon Sesostris made by his brother, was of another sort. At Sesostris's return home from his conquests, his brother invited him, his wife and children to an entertainment, and fired the house where he received them, with design to burn them³. Sesostris enjoyed himself in Egypt after his conquests many years in peace, and died in his own country, and was succeeded in his kingdom by his son⁴; but Ægyptus the brother of Danaus was an exile from Egypt as well as Danaus, and died and was buried in Achaia in Greece⁵, and his only surviving son Lynceus never was king of Egypt, but succeeded Danaus in the kingdom of Argos⁶, and was buried in that country in the same tomb with Hypermnestra his wife⁷. Thus Ægyptus and Sesostris were two different persons, the circumstances of whose lives, deaths, and children, will in no wise coincide, but are very diverse from one another; and

² Apollod. Eustath. et Didym. in loc. sup. citat. Pausan. in Corinthiacis.

³ Diodor. Sic. lib. i, c. 57; Herodot. lib. ii, c. 107.

⁴ Diodor. ubi sup. et c. 59; Herodot. lib. ii, c. 111.

⁵ Pausan in Achaic. c. 22.

⁶ Id. in Corinthiac. c. 16.

⁷ Id. ibid. et c. 21.

therefore it cannot be conclusive to argue that Danaus was brother of Sesostris, because Danaus and Ægyptus are recorded to have been thus related. Diodorus Siculus and Herodotus are very large in their accounts of Sesostris⁶; and both minutely mention the circumstances of his brother's treachery⁹; but neither of them hint that Danaus had been his brother. Danaus lived about the time of Moses¹; and consequently Ægyptus in the same age; but as Ægyptus appears not to have been Sesostris, the fraternity between Ægyptus and Danaus can have no effect towards proving the time of Sesostris's reign.

II. Bishop Cumberland contends, that Sesostris was the son of Amenophis, who was the Pharaoh that was drowned in pursuit of the Israelites in the Red Sea. He cites Manetho and Chæremon in Josephus to prove that Amenophis was the king, in whose reign the Israelites went out of Egypt². This Amenophis, he says, was the father of Ramesses, who was also called Ægyptus, and had Danaus for his brother; and Ægyptus and Sesostris were the same person. But 1. Amenophis was not the king in whose reign the Israelites left Egypt. Josephus indeed remarks, that Manetho in one particular place asserts it³; and that

⁶ Diodor. lib. i; Herodot. lib. ii.

⁹ Diodor. lib. i, c. 57; Herodot. lib. ii, c. 107.

¹ See vol. ii, b. viii; Photii extract. e lib. xi; Diodor. Sic.; Photii Biblioth. p. 1151.

² Sanchoniatho. p. 398.

³ Lib. contra Appion. l. i, c. 26.

Chæremón agrees with him in it⁴. But then he remarks, that it was a mere fiction of Manetho, contrary to what he himself had expressly owned⁵, in other parts of his works, and that Chæremón erred in agreeing with him in it⁶; so that the very authorities upon which the learned bishop would argue, that Amenophis, his supposed father of Sesostris, had been the Egyptian king, who reigned at the Jewish exit, have been long ago refuted by Josephus, the very author from whom the bishop had them, and in the very place where he found them. But, 2. If Amenophis was indeed the king who reigned at the Jewish exit; if he was also the father of Ramesses, or Ægyptus the brother of Danaus; yet as it appears from what I above offered, that Ægyptus the brother of Danaus and Sesostris were in no wise the same person; nothing can be concluded from the learned bishop's argument to prove that Sesostris had lived in these times. Here therefore I will leave this subject, though it might be more largely refuted in every particular belonging to it; but so nice a discussion must surely be superfluous. One thing I confess I am surprised at; I greatly wonder that such learned and judicious writers, as the great authors I have mentioned, could ever entertain such a thought. If Sesostris had lived in these times, and commanded such victorious armies as he was said to be master of, would not the camp

⁴ Lib. contra Appion. i, c. 32.

⁵ Joseph. ubi sup.

⁶ Id. ibid.

of the Israelites have fallen in his way; or should we not have had him mentioned among the hints which we have in Scripture of the Canaanitish nations? He must have carried his forces through these countries; but they appear to have enjoyed an uninterrupted peace, until Joshua attacked them. But had the great Sesostris lived in these times, whence, or how should he have raised his armies? When Pharaoh pursued the Israelites to the Red Sea, he took his people with him, all his horses and chariots, and all the chariots of Egypt, and his horsemen and his army⁷. He and all these perished in the sea⁸. The kingdom had been just before spoiled of its treasure⁹, and every family weakened by the loss of the first born¹. Can it then appear probable, that in such a deplorable crisis of affairs, a king of this country should attempt and pursue a variety of conquests of foreign nations? Egypt must at this time have been reduced so low, that it might have been an easy prey to any invasion. The Israelites many times thought so, and were therefore frequently tempted and inclined to return thither, when they met with discouraging difficulties in their expectations of Canaan. When the spies, who had been employed to search the land, had intimidated the congregation, by magnifying the strength and stature of the inhabitants, the Israelites were for

⁷ Exod. xiv, 6, 7, 9.

⁸ Chap. xii, 36.

⁹ Ver. 28.

¹ Ver. 29, 30.

making them a captain to lead them back to Egypt². They knew the fruitfulness of this country, were sensible that it must be under a feeble government; and though they supposed themselves not able to conquer the Canaanites, who were in their full strength, yet they were not afraid of an exhausted nation. This indeed was a natural way of thinking: but that Sesostris should be the son of Pharaoh, who was drowned in the Red Sea, and that in the state to which his father's misfortunes must have reduced Egypt, he should immediately find strength sufficient to subdue kingdom after kingdom, and erect himself a large empire over many great and flourishing nations; this must be thought by any one who duly considers things, to seem at first sight a most romantic fiction.

It may, perhaps, be expected, that I should not only say, who was not, but who really was the Pharaoh that was drowned in the Red Sea; but perhaps I may not be able to determine this point, so as to have no doubts remaining about it. However, as the Egyptian antiquities have been the study of many learned writers in divers ages, and great pains have been taken to settle and deduce a reasonable and consistent account of them; it may not be unacceptable to such as have not opportunity of informing themselves better, if I here, once for all, set before the reader some account of the works or remains, which are most commonly cited

² Numb. xiv, 3, 4.

for these antiquities; after which he may judge for himself, how far we can fix the particular time of any reign or transaction, which belongs to the history of this people. Now the authorities most generally appealed to upon this subject are, 1. The old Chronographeon. 2. The Tomes of Manetho. 3. The Catalogue of Eratosthenes. 4. Some extracts from Manetho in Josephus. 5. The Chronographia of Africanus. 6. The Chronicon of Eusebius. 7. The Chronographia of Syncellus. And, 8. The Canon Chronicus of our learned countryman, Sir John Marsham.

1. We are told of an old Egyptian Chronographeon, of which Syncellus has preserved some remains, or rather an imperfect account. But I may offer the whole of what he gives us of it, in the following translation of his words. According to him it was thus³ worded:

“ Time we do not assign to Vulcan, for he is ever. Sol the son of Vulcan reigned 30,000 years. Then Saturn and the other gods, being twelve, reigned 3984 years. Then the eight demi-gods, who were kings, reigned 217 years. And after these were set down fifteen generations of the Cynic Cycle, taking up the space of 443 years. Then came the 16th dynasty of Tanite kings, containing eight (generations, or) reigns of 190 years. Next to these the 17th dynasty of Memphites, four

³ Οὕτω πως ἐπὶ λέξεως ἔχων. Ἡφαιστὸς χρόνος οὐκ ἐστὶν
Syncell. p. 51.

reigns, 103 years. After them the 18th dynasty of Memphites, fourteen reigns, 348 years. Then the 19th dynasty of Diospolitans, five reigns, 194 years. Then the 20th dynasty of Diospolitans, eight reigns, 228 years. Next the 21st dynasty of Tanites, six reigns, 121 years. Then the 22d dynasty of Tanites, three reigns, 48 years. The 23d dynasty of Diospolitans, two reigns, 19 years. The 24th dynasty of Saitans, three reigns, 44 years. The 25th dynasty of Ethiopians, three reigns, 44 years. The 26th dynasty of Memphites, seven reigns, 177 years. The 27th dynasty of Persians, five reigns, 124 years.⁴ The 29th dynasty of Tanites, . . . reigns⁵, 39 years. The 30th dynasty completes the whole, consisting of one Tanite king, his reign 118 years."

This is the account we have of the ancient Chronographeon; and I would remark concerning it, 1. That, excepting the three or four first lines, it cannot be thought to be given us in the very words of the Chronographeon; rather, it is an abstract of what was supposed to be the contents of it. The Chronographeon itself, as it particularized the reign of Sol, and then of Saturn; so, unquestionably, it exhibited distinctly the reigns of the other gods, and distributed such a part of the 3984 years, said to be the sum of all their reigns, as belonged respectively to, and was made up from

⁴ Through some defect of the copy, we have here an omission of the 28th dynasty.

⁵ We have here a like omission of the number of the reigns in the 29th.

the course of each of them. In like manner, I imagine, it recounted the eight demi-gods, and the fifteen Cynic heroes, more distinctly, and in a larger narration, than we here find them; for in this account, I take it, we have only the beginning of the Chronographeon, and then the sum or heads of what followed, and not the particulars at large, which were contained in it. But I would observe, 2. That we have reason to think, that the foregoing account was not originally intended for an account of the old Chronographeon only; but rather for an account of the Chronographeon and of some other work accommodated and connected with it. From the beginning of the account to the end of what is said of the heroes of the Cynic Cycle, we have the substance of the old Chronographeon. From what follows thus, then the 16th dynasty of Tanite kings, &c. we have the contents, not of the old Chronographeon, but of some later chronicle, which was thought to supply what the old Chronographeon did not contain, towards completing the Egyptian history. In the old Chronographeon, next to the Cynic Cycle, were lists of the kings of three kingdoms, first of the Auritans, secondly of the Mestræans, and thirdly of the Egyptians⁶. And so many names of kings were probably contained in each list, as had reigned to the time, perhaps, when the Chronographeon was composed. But the author of the account above produced, not purposing to go on with

⁶ Πρώτον μὲν τῶν Αὐριτῶν, δεύτερον δὲ τῶν Μεστράων, τρίτον δὲ Αἰγυπτίων. Syncell. p. 51.

the more obsolete names of the old Chronographeon, but taking the Auritans to be the same nation as were afterwards called Tanites, the Mestræans the same as Memphites, and the Egyptians the same as Diospolitans; and knowing that a later chronicle at its 16th dynasty began its account of the Tanite kings; and in its 17th and 18th its account of the Memphites; and in the next dynasty its account of the Diospolitans; he thought this to be a point of time where he was sure the two registers, from which he copied, coincided; and therefore having given the contents of the more ancient one, down to this point, instead of going on in that any farther, here, says he, we are come to the 16th dynasty, an epoch well known to those who had perused the accounts of Manetho, and from hence he adds dynasty to dynasty down to what he took to be the end of the Egyptian history.

If we do not take the account I am treating of, in this light, it will be hard to reconcile the several parts of it to one another. We have in it the contents of the Egyptian history of their gods, demigods, Cynic Cycle, and then comes the 16th dynasty. — It must be obvious here to ask, how comes this to be called the 16th dynasty; for where are the preceding fifteen? The learned editor of Syncellus was aware of this difficulty, and therefore suggests in his annotations, that Γενεαι ιε Κυκλος κυνικος should be read, δυνασεις ιε, that instead of fifteen generations of the Cynic Cycle, we

should read fifteen dynasties⁷; but this is to cut the difficulty, and not to solve it. This was certainly not the intention of the author of the account, who supposed that the whole history, from the beginning of the Chronographeon to the end of the dynasties he added to it, contained in all but thirty dynasties; and accordingly endeavours to sum up the amount of them all to be thirty-six thousand five hundred and twenty five years⁸. But if we begin the dynasties from the Cynic Cycle, the sum of them will fall short myriads of years of that number; and the Chronographeon will contain the history of the gods and demi-gods, besides the dynasties, which the composer of this account had no notion that it did.

I might add farther, that if we take the account above mentioned as giving us the contents of the old Chronographeon only, we shall destroy the supposed antiquity of the Chronographeon. For as the 27th dynasty mentions the Persian kings⁹, of whom Cambyses was the first¹; so it is evident, that the other three dynasties carry on the Egyptian history to about the time of Nectanebus², and there Manetho's tomes ended³. Nectanebus was expelled his kingdom by Ochus king of Persia, about three hundred and fifty years before CHRIST⁴,

⁷ Vid. Annotat. Goar. ad Syncell. p. 51.

⁸ Vid. Euseb. Chronic. p. 7; Syncell. p. 52.

⁹ Καὶ μετὰ τούτῃς καὶ δυναστεία Περσῶν ε. ετών ραδ. Syncell. p. 52.

¹ Vid. Syncell. p. 76; Prideaux, Connect. part i, b. iii.

² Syncell. p. 76, 77; Prideaux, b. iii, vii.

³ Syncell. p. 256.

⁴ Prideaux, b. vii.

A. M. 3654. Manetho dedicated his tomes to Ptolemy Philadelphus before A. M. 3757⁵, within about one hundred years after Nectanebus; so that if the old Chronographeon reached down to Nectanebus, Manetho's work and that must have been of about the same antiquity. I ought here to take notice, that some very learned writers have supposed this old Chronographeon was nothing else but an abridgment of Manetho. This was Scaliger's opinion, and accordingly, in his Chronicon of Eusebius, he puts upon it the following title: *Θεων Βασιλεια κατα το παλαιον χρονικον εκ των Μανεθω*. Or, "The reign of the gods according to the old Chronicle out of the books of Manetho⁶." This, I believe, was Dean Prideaux's sentiment; who tells us we have an epitome of Manetho's work preserved in Syncellus⁷, taking, I suppose, this Chronographeon to be that epitome. But they were probably led to think it so, from Manetho's work and the Chronographeon's ending at the same period; and would perhaps have thought differently of it, had they duly observed how the account we have of the Chronographeon differs, the former part of it from the latter part, in a very remarkable particular, which shows that it had been an abstract not of one, but of two different works; the former part exhibiting the contents of a work, which had not been divided into such dynasties as the latter part is made up of; the latter part containing the substance

⁵ Prideaux, part. ii, b. ii.

⁶ Euseb. Chronic. p. 6.

⁷ Connect. part i. b. vii, ad annum 350.

of one half of a work, which had comprehended in thirty dynasties the whole Egyptian history.

That the old Chronographeon was a different and distinct work from that of Manetho is evident from Syncellus; for he collected from it, that Manetho had committed errors⁸; and suggests, that the period of time, which the old Chronographeon digested into dynasties, was not the same with that which Manetho sorted into divisions of a like denomination⁹. From the old Chronographeon, Manetho took a hint, which led him to compose the Egyptian history in such sections¹; but the dynasties of the old Chronographeon were astronomical, not historical². The page of Syncellus, from which we might hope to form a judgment of this old Chronographeon, is printed very incorrectly; or perhaps never had the last hand of its author; for Syncellus died before he had completed and corrected his work³; and, I should think, has left us in this page rather some hints, which he might intend afterwards to perfect, than a clear and complete account of the old Chronographeon. As far as we can guess, from his short and imperfect suggestions, the old Chronographeon divided a very large period of time, a space of thirty-six thousand five hundred and

⁸ Εξ 8 και τον Μανεθω πεπλανησθαι νομιζω. Syncell. p. 51.

⁹ Περιεχον λ δυνασειων — χρονον απειρον, και 8 τον αυτον τον Μανεθω. Syncell. p. 51.

¹ Εκ τετων δηλαδη λαβων τας αφορμας. Id. p. 52.

² Αιγυπτιοι μεν — τας περιόδους και μυριαδας ετων, καταθεσιν τινα των παρ αυτοις ασήρολογημενων εξεδειτο. Id. p. 17.

³ Prefat. in Syncell.

twenty-five years, first into thirty dynasties, then, *εν γενεαις παλιν ριγ*, it subdivided it again into one hundred and thirteen generations⁴. The Egyptians reputed that a period of thirty-six thousand five hundred and twenty five years was the space of time, in which the luminaries of Heaven performed, what they called an entire revolution of the world⁵; and perhaps at the time of the composure of the Chronographeon, they might think that their revolution of the Zodiac was performed in one thousand two hundred and seventeen years and six months; and so was repeated thirty times in the course of years above mentioned⁶; and this might lead them to divide that great period by thirty into dynasties. Now if I could trace the fictions of their romantic astronomy, and determine precisely the particular lights of Heaven, which in the first ages were called their gods, and calculate exactly how they measured the courses of each of them; I might probably deduce one hundred and thirteen other periods contained in the thirty-six thousand five hundred and twenty-five years, which they might call generations, and show, how in these their said gods completed again other courses, which had relations to one another. Of this sort were the thirty dynasties and one hundred and thirteen generations of the old Chronographeon, and belonged to the courses of the Sun, Moon, and Stars, which were the gods of Egypt

⁴ Syncell. p. 51.

⁵ Marsham, Can. Chron. p. 9. See vol. i, b. i.

⁶ Afterwards they computed a revolution of the Zodiac more accurately to be fourteen hundred and sixty years, still falling a little short of a true calculation. Censorin. de Die Natali, c. 18.

in these times⁷. After these the Chronographeon gave account of the demi-gods and their times, but not in dynasties; and who these were, I have already considered⁸. Next, it related the heroes of the Cynic Cycle⁹; and lastly, added the names of such Auritan, Mestræan, and Egyptian kings¹, as had reigned down to the times where the Chronographeon ended. Let us now consider in the next place the tomes of Manetho.

II. Manetho was a learned and noble Egyptian at the head of their sacra². About the time, or soon after the Septuagint translation was made of the Hebrew Scriptures, he was ordered by Ptolemy Philadelphus to compile the history of his own country. Having consulted the sacred books of the Egyptians, and extracted, as he pretended, what had been transcribed into them from their most ancient monuments, and completed his undertaking in the Greek tongue, he dedicated it to Ptolemy, at whose command he had composed it³. His work contained an account of the gods, demi-gods, heroes, and mortals, that had reigned in Egypt⁴; and herein the subject matter of it bears a resemblance to the old Chronographeon, for that, as I have said, began with the reigns of Sol and

⁷ See vol. i, b. i, b. 5.

⁸ Book i.

⁹ Vid. b. i.

¹ Syncell. p. 51.

² Syncell. p. 40; Voss. de Hist. Græc. lib. i, c. 14.

³ Joseph. contra Ap. lib. i, c. 14; Syncell. p. 40.

⁴ Εν τριακοντα δυναστείαις ισθρει των λεγομενων παρ αυτοις θεων, και ημιθων, και νεκρων, και θνητων ετερων βασιλευν. Syncell. p. 40.

the other gods, then gave account of the demi-gods, then of the Cynic heroes, and lastly of the Auritan, Mestræan, and Egyptian kings. Manetho divided his history into thirty dynasties and one hundred and thirteen generations⁵; but he differed from the Chronographeon, in that the times he treated under these titles were not the same periods with those, which the Chronographeon exhibited under the like denominations⁶. The dynasties and generations of the Chronographeon were astronomical, prior to the reigns or lives of the demi-gods; but Manetho's began from the reigns of the demi-gods, were carried on through the reigns of the gods, heroes, and mortals, and terminated with Nectanebus. Manetho was unquestionably a great master of the Egyptian learning, and might think it a point of their doctrines, that all things had their period in thirty-six thousand five hundred and twenty-five years⁷. He had lived to see the ancient glory of his country passed over; for Egypt was in the possession of a foreign race of kings in his time. Nectanebus was the last Egyptian who sat on the throne of this nation⁸. Upon his flight from Ochus king of Persia, Egypt came into the hands of the Persians, and afterwards was reduced by Alexander the Great⁹; at whose death it became a

⁵ Πίλ γενεων εν δυνασειαις λ αναγεγραμμενων. Syncell. p. 52.

⁶ Ου τον αυτον [χρονον] τον Μανεθω. Id. p. 51.

⁷ Vid. Jamblich. de Myster. Egypt. c. de Deo atque Diis.

⁸ Prideaux, Connect. part. i, b. vii.

⁹ Id. ibid.

part of the provinces of Ptolemy, one of his captains, who in a few years became king of it, and his son Ptolemy Philadelphus reigned when Manetho wrote his history. Thus Manetho had seen of the Egyptian race of kings, that their times had been fulfilled, and their kingdom departed from them; and upon the dogmata of the Egyptian learning, he conceived that such a revolution might indeed happen at the end of thirty-six thousand five hundred and twenty-five years, and therefore deduced his dynasties according to it. Thus he made his work not dishonourable to his country, or to the stock of which himself was descended¹; for it showed that the Egyptian reigns had been carried down to a full and complete period; and it might be likely to give Ptolemy no disadvantageous sentiments of the Egyptian sacred learning, if it could suggest to him, that his kingdom was founded near the beginning of a new order of ages², and might, under the protection of the same gods, be extended to as late a date.

Syncellus has in several places, from Africanus and other writers, given us the numbers of years supposed to belong to the parts of Manetho's history. But the reader would have little satisfac-

¹ Manetho was of the Sebennite race. Syncell. p. 40. A family which in Nectanebus ascended the throne. Prideaux ubi sup.

² Virgil compliments the Augustan age, in which the affairs of Rome were come to a new settlement, in this manner: *Magnus ab integro seclorum nascitur ordo.* Eclog, iv, lib. 5.

tion, if I were to collect and compare them; for they do not appear to be the true numbers, nor are they always consistent with one another³. Syncellus unquestionably never saw the work of Manetho⁴; for no remains of it were extant in his time, other than what later writers had cited from him. And the several writers, who had cited Manetho, had so calculated, reduced⁵, and disposed what they cited, to make it suit such schemes as themselves had formed of the Egyptian antiquities, that Syncellus could at best only guess, what Manetho's scheme was, or what precise number of years he really assigned to the several particulars of it. Manetho composed his work in three tomes, volumes, or rather books⁶; which contained, as above, thirty dynasties, deduced through one hundred and thirteen reigns, successions, or generations⁷. In the former dynasties the history of the gods, demi-gods, and heroes were contained; in the latter the history of the mortal kings⁸; and according to the supplement to the old Chronographeon above mentioned, the account of the mortal kings took up the last fifteen dynasties⁹; and in them were set down the reigns or successions of between seventy and eighty kings¹, in the space of seven-

³ Syncell. p. 18, 19, 52.

⁴ Marsham, Can. Chron. p. 3.

⁵ Vid. Syncell. p. 19. Numeri isti non tam Manethonis sunt, quam Eusebii vel Panodori. Marsham, ubi sup.

⁶ Syncell. p. 52.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹ The number of kings will be found to be seventy-seven, if

teen or eighteen hundred years². If the number of kings were seventy-seven³, add to these fifteen Cynic heroes⁴, eight demi gods⁵, twelve gods⁶, and Sol the son of Vulcan, and we have, perhaps, Manetho's one hundred and thirteen generations. In like manner I might attempt to fix the numbers of years which he assigned to the several generations. If the reigns of his kings amounted to between seventeen and eighteen hundred years, then the reigns of his gods, demi-gods, and heroes, filled up the space of almost thirty-five thousand; for all together made thirty-six thousand five hundred and twenty-five years. The numbers of years of the reigns of the kings, as calculated in the supplement to the old Chronographeon, are seventeen hundred and ten⁷. The dynasties ended with Nectanebus, A. M. 3654⁸; count back from hence

we fill up the 28th dynasty with the reign of one king, and the 29th with five, and suppose the 30th to contain the reign, not of one, but of three kings: and that these supplements and corrections are just, the reader may be satisfied from the accounts given of these dynasties by Africanus and Eusebius, Syncell. p. 76, 77, and from the true history of Egypt from Nectanebus's advancement to the throne, to the flight of Nectanebus. See Prideaux, Connect. part. i, b. vii.

² If the reader counts up the numbers of years assigned to the reigns of the kings in the several dynasties annexed to the Chronographeon, supposing six years to be the reign of the king omitted in the 28th dynasty, (see this dynast. in African et Euseb. Syncell. p. 76, 77), and supposing the years of the 30th dynasty to be 25 not 18, (consult Prideaux's Connect. for the reigns of the kings which belonged to that dynasty), he will find the sum of years to be seventeen hundred and ten.

³ Vid. quæ sup.

⁴ Chronograph. Syncell. p. 51.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Vid. quæ sup.

⁸ Syncell. p. 256.

seventeen hundred and ten years, and we begin the reign of the first king, A. M., 1944. Menes, or the Mizraim of Moses⁹, went into Egypt about A. M. 1772, removed from the land of Zoan there into a farther part of the country about A. M. 1881, and died about A. M. 1943¹; so that Manetho's accounts began the kings about the time of Menes². Of this sort, I believe, was the work of Manetho: and it is obvious, that it did not appear to carry the accounts of the Egyptian kings so far backward as the Greeks must suppose they ought to be carried, from what had been before published of them in the Greek tongue. Herodotus wrote about a century and a half earlier than Manetho³; and according to what he collected, the Egyptians had had from Menes to Cambyzes above three hundred and fifty kings⁴. When Herodotus was in Egypt, he was carried into a temple, where he counted the number of the statues of the priests, that were set up there, and he reckoned three hundred and forty-five⁵; and the Egyptians informed him, that they had so many priests, and as many kings, from Menes, their first king, to Sethos⁶. We cannot suppose that Herodotus should herein

⁹ See vol. i, b. iv.

¹ Ibid.

² I cannot think the numbers are printed so accurately, or that we may be able, perhaps, to correct them with so much certainty and exactness, as to determine absolutely that this was the real number fixed by Manetho; from this number we may form a general notion of his computations, and that is all we can pretend to endeavour at.

³ Compute the time of Herodotus from Prideaux, Connect, part. i, b. vi, ad an. 444.

⁴ Herodot. Hist. lib. ii.

⁵ Id. ibid. c. 142

⁶ Ibid.

publish an absolute falsehood; and if Herodotus did indeed see such a collection of statues, how is it possible, that there should have been no more kings of Egypt, than what Manetho seems to have suggested? But this matter may be easily cleared. The Egyptians had collected into this temple the statues of priests from a multitude of cities, and might, in showing them to strangers, ostentatiously set off the number of their priests and kings, not telling how they had collected them, and they might hereby easily send into the world enlarged accounts of the Egyptian antiquities. But Manetho knew the affairs of his country too well to be led into this error. He supposed one continued empire to have subsisted and been maintained in Egypt from Menes to Nectanebus; that the seat of it had in different ages been at different cities; sometimes at This, sometimes at Memphis, sometimes at Diospolis, and sometimes at Tanis. Accordingly he deduces and connects a series of those kings, whom he imagined to have had in their times the supreme command; omitting all others their contemporaries, whom he supposed to have governed but as deputies to these, in their respective provinces or cities. However, Manetho's account does not seem to have given an entire satisfaction; for in a little time after he had composed it, in the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes, the immediate successor of Philadelphus, who had employed Manetho, Eratosthenes was ordered to make a farther collection of the Egyptian kings.

III. Eratosthenes was a Cyrenian, had studied at Athens, was of great eminence for his parts and learning, had an invitation into Egypt from Ptolemy Euergetes, who made him one of the keepers of the royal library at Alexandria⁷, and commanded him to give him a catalogue of the Egyptian kings. Eratosthenes hereupon made a list of the kings, who had reigned at Thebes or Diospolis, and to every king's name added the number of years in his reign. His catalogue is preserved in Syncellus⁸, and the names of the kings, and number of years of the respective reigns set down in it, are as follows.

I. Menes reigned years 62. II. Athothes 59. III. Another Athothes 32. iv. Diabies 19. v. Pemphos 18. vi. Tægar Amachus Momcheiri 79. vii. Stæchus 6. viii. Gosormies 30. ix. Mares 26. x. Anoyphes 20. xi. Sirius 18. xii. Chnoubus Gneurus 22. xiii. Ramosis 13. xiv. Biyris 10. xv. Saophis Comastes 29. xvi. Sensaophis 27. xvii. Moscheris Heliodotus 31. xviii. Musthis 33. xix. Pammus Archondes 35. xx. Apappus Maximus 100. xxi. Achescus Ocaras 1. xxii. Nicotris 6. xxiii. Myrtæus Ammonodotus 22. xxiv. Thuosi Mares 12. xxv. Thinnillus 8. xxvi. Semphruceates 18. xxvii. Chouth Taurus 7. xxviii. Meures Philoscopus 12. xxix. Chomæptha Mundus Philephæstus 11. xxx. Anchunius Ochy-Tyrannus 60. xxxi. Pen-

⁷ Voss. de Histor. Græc. lib. i. c. 17; Prideaux, Connect. part ii, b. ii.

⁸ Syncell. p. 91—147.

teathyris 16. xxxii. Stamenemes 23. xxxiii. Sistosichermes 55. xxxiv. Mæris 43. xxxv. Siphœas, or Mercury, 5. xxxvi. The name of the king is wanting, the years of his reign are 14. xxxvii. Pheuron, or Nilus, 5 years. xxxviii. Amuthantæus 63. This is the remain we have of Eratosthenes, taken by Syncellus from the annals of Apollodorus⁹. It begins from Menes, who was the Mizraim of Moses¹, sixty-two years before the death of Menes, one hundred and twenty-four years, says Syncellus, after the confusion of tongues², that is, when Menes removed from the land of Tanis into Thebais, A. M. 1881³. The sum of all the reigns contained in the catalogue amount, according to Syncellus, to one thousand and seventy-six years⁴, and consequently the catalogue may be computed to end A. M. 2957. But before I leave this work of Eratosthenes, I would offer a few remarks upon it. 1. The nature and manner of it points out, what were the reputed defects of Manetho's performance at the time of composing it. Had Manetho's been esteemed a complete work, Eratosthenes would certainly not have been employed so soon after him. But the number of Egyptian

⁹ Syncell. p. 91.

¹ Gen. x, 13; vol. i, b. iv.

² Syncell. p. 147.

³ Vol. i. b. iv.

⁴ If the reader sums up the reigns above recounted, he will find them amount to but one thousand and fifty: but I must observe, that in the margin of Syncellus's Chronographia, at the name of Penteathyris, the xxxist king, it is remarked, that the years of his reign should be read $\mu\epsilon$ not 15, 42 not 16; make this correction, and the sum of years of the catalogue will be one thousand and seventy-six, as Syncellus writes it.

kings suggested by Herodotus, upon the appearance of a strict inquiry, and a very good information, could not but put the learned Greeks at Alexandria, as well as others, upon examining whether Manetho was not deficient in his number of Egyptian kings. With this view Eratosthenes collected the kings of one particular kingdom. There were in Manetho's dynasties but about fifteen kings of the Theban kingdom⁵; but, besides these, Eratosthenes collected thirty-eight, who had been omitted by Manetho. 2. The learned have very reasonably computed, that Eratosthenes's catalogue was carried down to the time of the first Diospolitan king mentioned in the⁶ dynasties of Manetho, *i. e.* the king of Diospolis, who was the first of Manetho's XIIIth dynasty, was the immediate successor of Amuthantæus, the last of the catalogue of Eratosthenes. 3. It is something difficult to form a computation of the numbers of years belonging to the reigns in Eratosthenes, and in Manetho, suitable to the connecting Eratosthenes's catalogue with Manetho's dynasties in this manner. But I think, we are so far from being sure, that we have every number in either Eratosthenes or Manetho exactly as they left them, or that they themselves did not mistake sometimes, in computing or transcribing the old Egyptian numeral characters, that great stress cannot be laid upon any seeming re-

⁵ Vid. Chronograph. xix, xx, xxiii Dyn.; Syncell. p. 51, 52.

⁶ Marsham, Can. Chron. p. 3; Prideaux, Connect. part. ii, b. ii, ad ann. 239.

pugnancies of this nature. As Eratosthenes's catalogue now stands, from the beginning of the catalogue to the reign of Nilus the xxxviiith king, are nine hundred and eighty-two years; so that Nilus began his reign, according to this account, A. M. 2863. But Dicæarchus computed the reign of Nilus to the four hundred and thirty-sixth year before the first Olympiad⁷; if we fix the first Olympiad to A. M. 3228⁸, Nilus began his reign A. M. 2792; seventy-one years earlier than the catalogue suggests. But for errors of this sort, allowances must be given and taken, in many parts of the ancient Egyptian history.

IV. We have in Josephus some citations from Manetho, which ought in the next place to be examined. Josephus tells us from Manetho, that the incursion of the Pastors, who made themselves masters of Egypt⁹, happened when Timæus was king¹; that the first Pastor king was Salatis, who reigned nineteen years; and was succeeded by Bæon, who reigned forty-four years. After Bæon reigned Apachnas thirty-six years and seven months, then Apophis sixty-one years, then Janias fifty years one month, after whom Assis forty-two years two months², and after these, other kings. Josephus informs us, that the Pastors held Egypt in subjection five hundred and eleven³ years; at the end of which term Alisfragmuthosis, a Theban king,

⁷ Apollon. Argonaut. lib. iv, v. 272, in Schol. p. 412.

⁸ Vid. Marsham, Can. Chron. p. 423; Usher's Annals ad ann. Per. Jul. 3938.

⁹ See vol. ii, b. vii, p. 205.

¹ Joseph. contra Apion. lib. i, c. 14. ² Id. ibid. ³ Id. ibid.

gave them a great overthrow, and that his son Thummosis reduced them to leave Egypt⁴. After this, Josephus from Manetho gives us a list of Theban kings. I. Tethmosis reigned 25 years 4 months. II. Chebron 13 years. III. Amenophis 20 years 7 months. IV. Amesses 21 years 9 months. V. Mephres 12 years 9 months. VI. Mephramnuthosis 25 years 10 months. VII. Thmosis 9 years 8 months. VIII. Amenophis 30 years 10 months. IX. Orus 36 years 5 months. X. Acencheres 12 years 1 month. XI. Rathotis 9 years. XII. Acencheres 12 years 5 months. XIII. Another Acencheres 12 years 3 months. XIV. Harmais 4 years 1 month. XV. Ramesses 1 year 4 months. XVI. Ramesses Miamon 66 years 2 months. XVII. Amenophis 19 years 6 months. XVIII. Sethosis 59 years⁵. XIX. Rampses or Ramesses 66 years⁷. Concerning what is thus offered by Josephus, I would observe,

1. That we have no reason to suppose, that the first Pastor kings were a real part of Manetho's Egyptian dynasties. Manetho's purpose was to deduce the succession of the Egyptian kings; but the Pastor kings were not Egyptian; they were foreign invaders, who over-ran Egypt, and reduced a great part of the country into subjection. When therefore Manetho came down to the times where they made their invasion, though he probably took

⁴ Joseph. contra Apion. lib. i, c. 14.

⁵ Id. c. 15.

⁶ Id. c. 26.

⁷ Ibid.

notice of their incursion, their names, and what part of the country they gained possession of, yet he probably continued down the history of the kings of Egypt in the Thebans, who were not reduced by the Pastors. Accordingly, in the epitome of Manetho, we find no dynasty of Pastors⁸; nor would Africanus⁹, or Eusebius¹, I should think, have supposed any, had they duly attended to what must have been the design of Manetho's performance. They might perhaps have remarked the Pastor kings over against, and contemporary with those kings of Thebais, in whose reigns they got possession of a great part of Egypt. 2. The Pastors came into Egypt about A. M. 2420²; until which time Egypt appears in Scripture to have enjoyed a long and uninterrupted peace from its most early ages³. But now a new or foreign king arose⁴, unacquainted with what had been transacted in it⁵; and farther, the sacred pages suggest, that a people had been about this time expelled their

⁸ Vid. Chronograph.

⁹ Africanus supposes three Pastor-dynasties, 15th, 16th, 17th. Syncell. p. 61.

¹ Eusebius suggests but one Pastor-dynasty, namely his 17th. Euseb. Chron.; Syncell. p. 61.

² See vol. ii. b. vii, p. 210.

³ The learned writers, who would introduce the Pastors in another age, are forced to place them about the first planting of Egypt, in times when we have no mention of the state of it in the Scriptures. See Bishop Cumberland's Sanchoniatho, and his Origines Gentium.

⁴ Exod. i, 8; see vol. ii, b. vii, p. 205.

⁵ Ibid.

country⁶, who probably might be these Pastors, who invaded Egypt. In like manner, if from A. M. 2420, we count down five hundred and eleven years, the term during which the Pastors kept their conquests, we shall fix their leaving Egypt about A. M. 2931. They had then leave to march into whatever country they liked to go, and which would receive them⁷; they marched through the desert⁸, and probably found a reception in some nation of Arabia. They went from Egypt not fewer in number than two hundred and forty thousand⁹, and consequently the nation which received so considerable an addition to its people must in a little time have grown very populous. Agreeably hereto, about A. M. 3063¹, within little more than a century, Zerah the Ethiopian or Cushite², a king in Arabia Petræa, invaded his neighbours with an army of a thousand thousand³; so that the sacred pages give intimations of the state both of Egypt, and of the neighbouring countries, well answering to the thus fixing the times of the Pastors. Josephus seems to me not to be consistent with himself, in the account he gives from Manetho of the Theban kings⁴. In one place he says Tummosis the son of Alisfragmuthosis expelled the Pastors⁵. This Tummosis was surely the king whom he afterwards

⁶ Exod. i, 8; see vol. ii, b. vii, p. 208.

⁷ Joseph. contra Apion. lib. i, c. 14.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹ Usher's Annals.

² See vol. i, b. iii.

³ 2 Chron. xiv.

⁴ Joseph. contra. Apion. b. i, c. 15.

⁵ Ibid. c. 14.

calls Thmosis, and whom he sets down next to Mephramuthosis⁶. Yet in recounting these kings, he sets Tethmosis, who, he says, expelled the Pastors, five reigns before Mephramuthosis⁷. But probably Manetho had rendered this part of his work dark and confused. Manetho took the Israelites and the Pastors to be one and the same people⁸; and by treating the Jewish exit and the expulsion of the Pastors as one event, he might mention the names of different kings, so as to lead Josephus into this contrariety. If we may form our notion of Manetho's work from the Epitome of it⁹, Josephus mistook the number of Manetho's Theban kings. The Epitome suggests that he had mentioned only fifteen; five in his 19th dynasty, eight in his 20th, and two in his 23d. And if I knew how to choose the fifteen rightly out of Josephus's list, and to make the first five begin where Eratosthenes's catalogue ends, and continue to the expulsion of the Pastors; and then to choose eight more, whose reigns might carry on the history to Sesostris or Sethosis, who was Sesac, and came against Jerusalem A. M. 3033¹; I should take the last two of Manetho's Theban kings to be Sesostris and his son Rameses. And I should imagine, I had hereby set Josephus's catalogue right, and made

⁶ Joseph. cont. Apion. lib. i, c, 15.—Africanus and Eusebius call him Tuthmosis.

⁷ Ibid. c. 15.

⁸ Ibid. c. 14. 16, 26.

⁹ Chronograph. in Syncell. p. 51, 52.

¹ See Preface to vol. ii.

Manetho's account agreeable, in this part of it, to true history.

V. Next to Josephus, we are to consider the work of Sextus Julius Africanus, who was a Christian, lived in the third century, and wrote about a hundred and fifty years after Josephus. He composed a Chronography consisting of two parts; in the former of which he collected, from other more ancient writers, the materials he intended to make use of; in the latter he formed from them a chronicle or historical deduction, beginning from the creation of the world, and carried down to the consulate of Gratus and Seleucus, to the year of our LORD 221, says Sir John Marsham². Amongst other collections, in the former part of his work, were the dynasties of Manetho; but not such as Manetho left them; for they were new modelled according to some scheme of them formed later than the times of Manetho. For, 1. Manetho's dynasties began with the reigns of the gods, demi-gods, and heroes, and then exhibited the reigns of the mortal kings³; but the dynasties given us by Africanus begin from the mortal kings⁴, and omit all that related to the superior beings, who were said to have reigned before them⁵. 2. Manetho's dynasties of the

² Can. Chron. p. 5.

³ Syncell. p. 40.

⁴ Id. p. 54.

⁵ Africanus begins his dynasties thus, Μετὰ γεννάς τῆς ἡμίδεος πρώτης βασιλείας καταριθμείται βασιλεῶν οκτώ.—Syncell. *ibid.*

mortal kings were but fifteen; they began at the 16th dynasty, and ended with the 30th⁶; but Africanus gives us thirty-one dynasties of Egyptian kings. Upon this account we must conclude, 3. That several of Africanus's dynasties were not in Manetho. Thus the 31st dynasty was not Manetho's; for he carried down his history no farther than to the end of Nectanebus's reign; but this 31st dynasty contains the names of Persian kings, who reigned after Nectanebus was expelled his kingdom⁷. In like manner Manetho's tomes seem to me not to have had Africanus's 2d dynasty of Thinite kings⁸, nor the 5th of Elephantine, nor the 6th of Memphites, nor the 15th of Pastors, nor the 22d of Bubastites, as Africanus gives them. Farther, Africanus's 18th dynasty of Theban kings seems to be taken rather from Josephus than from Manetho; for Manetho had in all but 15 Theban kings, and those set down in three dynasties⁹. As to Africanus's 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th,

⁶ Vid. Chronograph. in Syncell. p. 51, 52. και επι πασαις λ Δυναστεια.

⁷ The kings of the 31st dynasty are Ochus, Arses, Darius. Syncell. p. 77.

⁸ It ought to be here observed, that Africanus perhaps did not in his 1st and 2d dynasty copy after Manetho. Manetho gave a list of βασιλεων Τανιτων. Vid. Chronograph. But Africanus's 1st and 2d dynasties are not of Tanite but Θεινιτων, of the kings of This, or Thinite kings; so that Africanus had found here a different catalogue of kings from Manetho's, and did not distinguish it.

⁹ Vid. 19th, 20th, 23d dynast. in Chronograph. in Syncell. ubi sup.

13th, 14th, 16th, 17th, and 20th dynasties, they are mere numbers of years, without any names of kings affixed to them¹; and unquestionably no such dynasties were to be found in Manetho.

It may be here asked, how it can be supposed that Africanus should take away from, and add to Manetho's dynasties in this extravagant manner, or how or whence could he find matter or pretence to do it? I answer, 1. For his omission of what Manetho had recorded prior to the reigns of the mortal kings, it is easy to find a good reason. He thought all that Manetho offered of the reigns of gods, demi-gods, and heroes, to be fable, fiction, or false theology²; and therefore superfluous, not worth his transcribing. 2. There might be in the tomes of Manetho the names of many kings, besides those, of which Manetho supposed his dynasties to consist. Manetho accounted all Egypt, from its rise to Nectanebus, as having been only one empire; and considering it as such, he deduced one continued history of the kings, who had had the supreme rule in it. But as he supposed that the seat of this empire had been at different times in different cities; and agreeably hereto, as his dynasties were sometimes of kings of Tanis, some-

¹ Meros numeros inaniter turgentes. Marsham, Can. Chron. p. 5.

² Quæ Manetho *μιαρων ιερων αρχιερευς γραφει ψευδηγορων περι θεων εδεποτε γεγονοτων*, ista omnia tanquam Scriptore Christiano indigna Africanus aspernatur, et in illud tempus rejicit, quod præcessit diluvium. Marsham, p. 5.

times of Memphis, and sometimes of Diospolis, according as he thought the kings who had the supreme command reigned at this or that city; and as it might happen, whilst the kings of a Memphite or Theban dynasty were at the head of affairs, there might be in Manetho's account deputy-rulers at Tanis, Bubastus, Elephantis, or other cities; so from hence Africanus might have an opportunity of making a Tanite dynasty, an Elephantine, a Memphite, and a Bubastite more than Manetho ever supposed. The names of the kings suggested by Africanus in these dynasties were perhaps to be found in Manetho's history. But Manetho might record them as tributary or deputy-rulers to some of the kings of the dynasties he treated of; Africanus supposed them independent, and made dynasties appropriated to them.

3. Africanus's 15th dynasty contains the names of the Pastor kings, and their names were to be found in Manetho³; but Manetho did not relate these Pastors as being a part of the Egyptian succession of kings; but rather noted them as having invaded and dispossessed some of the Egyptian kings of a great part of Egypt; and accordingly only mentions them as being in Egypt in the times of those kings.

4. Manetho had mentioned fifteen kings of Thebais, five in his 19th dynasty, eight in his 20th, and two in his 23d⁴; Africanus has named as many in his 11th, 12th, and 19th dynasties. He

³ Vid Joseph. contra Apion. lib. i. c. 14.

⁴ Vid. Chronograph. in Syncell p. 51.

farther found several Theban kings' names in Josephus, said to be taken from Manetho⁵; which he also collected, and made of them his 18th dynasty⁶. But he should have observed, that Josephus has, through some mistake, multiplied the names of these kings, beyond what Manetho intended; and farther, there is such a repetition and similitude of names in this dynasty, and in Africanus's 11th, 12th, and 19th, that it seems most probable, that they give only the same kings with some small diversity in naming them; and that fifteen kings, rightly chosen out of the names mentioned in these four dynasties, would give the true reigns which Manetho has recorded. 5. The dynasties, suggesting reigns without names of kings, were perhaps added by Africanus from the intimations of Herodotus⁷; or, from the time when Manetho's account came to be generally esteemed deficient. Soon after Eratosthenes had published his catalogue, it might become customary for the learned to annotate upon their copies of the tomes of Manetho, what kings' names, and what reigns they conceived he had omitted in every part of his history: and from some transcripts of such enlarged copies of the tomes of Manetho, Africanus, who did not write till near five hundred years after him, might apprehend,

⁵ Joseph. ubi sup.

⁶ Syncell. p. 69.

⁷ Herodotus computes about three hundred and sixty-eight kings down to Cambyzes. Vid. Histor. lib. ii, lib. iii.

that such dynasties as he has given, might be collected from the books of Manetho.

If the reader will take the pains to inspect Africanus's account of the dynasties, and compute the number of reigns, and years of the reigns contained in them, he will find the kings, named and not named, to be together in number four hundred and seventy-three, down to the end of Nectanebus's reign; and that the sum of all their reigns amounts to four thousand eight hundred and twenty-three years years four months and ten days. But Africanus could not intend to bring such a length of Egyptian history within the compass, that his work could allow for it; because whoever will consider the nature of his epochs and chronology, in what year of the world he supposed Noah's flood to have happened, and to what year he fixed the end of Nectanebus's reign, will see, that he could not have above the space of two thousand eight hundred and eighty years for the Egyptian history. And unquestionably in the second part of his work, when he came to use the collections he had made, he brought his dynasties down to about this measure; which he might readily do, if, in composing his chronicle, he rejected the reigns as fictitious, which have no names of kings annexed to them, and took into his history only the kings, whose names he has given; for the kings so named by him are in number only one hundred and twenty-eight, and the times of their reigns amount to two

thousand nine hundred and eighty three^s years. Besides, Africanus might apprehend from Diodorus Siculus, who flourished in the times of Julius Cæsar⁹, long after Herodotus and Manetho, and who had been in Egypt for information as well as Herodotus¹, that Herodotus's enlarged catalogue of kings of Egypt ought probably to be reduced to about this number². In this manner I would consider the work of Africanus, and think of him; not that he made imaginary dynasties, and altered and interpolated Manetho just as his fancy led him³, for this would be to make him a most romantic writer; but rather, 1. That he took into his dynasties what he thought Manetho had duly adjusted to true history, and of this sort we may suppose his 1st, 3d, 4th, 11th, 12th, 19th, 21st, 23d, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th,

⁸ If we may suppose in this number a mistake of one hundred years, which is no great matter, considering how often the translators might miscalculate, or write erroneously the old numeral characters, we shall have a number suited to Africanus's Chronology.

⁹ Prideaux, Connect. part. ii, b. vii, ad. ann. 60; Voss. de Hist. Græc. lib. ii, c. 2.

¹ Diodor. lib. i, c. 4, p. 44.

² Diodorus suggests about one hundred and thirty kings of Egypt. Hist. lib. i.

³ Sir John Marsham says of him, *Maximus Manethonis interpolator Africanus vetustiores suas dynastias (siquid video) ex mero suo ipsius arbitrio disposuit: si penitius inspiciamus, alias illarum frustula tantum esse dynastiarum, alias reperiemus meros esse numeros inaniter turgentes.* Marsham, Can. Chron. p. 5.

answering to Manetho's fifteen dynasties from the 16th to the 30th⁴. 2. He added to these in other dynasties, some names of kings mentioned in Manetho as having reigned in Egypt; but he differed from Manetho, I take it, in a material point about these kings. He deduced their reigns in dynasties made for them, as if they had continued and brought down the Egyptian succession. Manetho did not suppose that any of these kings had reigned in times distinct from the Egyptian; but rather that they were deputies to, or usurpers, who held and kept some parts of Egypt from the rightful sovereigns their contemporaries, kings of the true Egyptian line. Of these Africanus perhaps made his 2d, 5th, 6th, 15th, and 22d dynasties. 3. Africanus found numerous additions of nameless reigns suggested by annotators as belonging to Manetho's tomes, agreeably to what Herodotus had written of the Egyptian history. He took these also into his collection, and made of them his 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 13th, 14th, 16th, 17th, and 20th dynasties; though he discarded these again when he came to compose from the materials he had collected, supposing that Manetho had really given no more kings, than what there were names to be found in his books. 4. Africanus collected his 18th dynasty, as I have said⁵, from Josephus. 5. The 31st dynasty might be added to Manetho by some later

⁴ Vid. Chronograph. in Syncell. p. 51, 52.

⁵ Vid. quæ sup.

hand, who was minded to remark the Persian kings unto whom Egypt became tributary; and being thus transcribed into some copies of Manetho, it might come down to Africanus, and not be rejected by him. If we consider Africanus's work in this light, we shall do justice to his character⁶; allow him to have been a serious and considerable writer, who took true pains to give what he judged a reasonable account of Manetho's performance, such as might represent it agreeing with what he reputed the true chronology of the world.

VI. Pamphilus Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, wrote about a century after Africanus. His Chronicon was a work of the same nature with Africanus's Chronographia; which he divided into two parts. The former part contained the *Materia Chronologica* for a universal history; in the second he ranged and synchronized such of the materials collected in the former part, as he intended to make use of; so as to give in one view a concurrent plan of the sacred and profane history. Eusebius began this part of his work from the birth of Abraham, and carried it down to the 20th year of Constantine the Great⁷. In his former part, amongst other collections, were the dynasties of Manetho, taken in a great mea-

⁶ Julius Africanus accuratissimus temporum observator. Vossius de Historic. Græc. lib. ii, c. 15. Ἀφρικανὸς χρονολογικῶν σπινδασμάτα ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς πεποινημένα. Euseb. Ecclesiastic. Histor. lib. vi, c. 31.

⁷ Euseb. Chron.; Marsham, p. 6

sure from Africanus's account of them; though in some points he differed from Africanus sufficiently to show that he did not think Africanus had ascertained indisputably the dynasties of Manetho. Eusebius represents that the dynasties down to Nectanebus contained the names of only ninety-three kings; and that the reigns which have no names of kings affixed to them were only two hundred and fifty-nine. But I would not carry the reader into a tedious discussion of every little difference between Africanus and Eusebius upon this subject. Their dynasties are described at large in Syncellus⁸; and whoever would examine this subject more curiously, may, by consulting his work, see and compare them with one another. However, I must observe, that Eusebius certainly took great liberty, in order to form the dynasties to his own purpose; sometimes following Africanus, and sometimes the Epitome of Manetho added to the Chronographeon above-mentioned, and making no scruple to vary from both, if his scheme required it. For, 1. His scheme was to synchronize the last year of Nectanebus, where Manetho's work ended, with the 1667th year from the birth of Abraham⁹; and to fix to the birth of Abraham the beginning of the 16th Egyptian dynasty¹. He supposes that dynasty to contain five Theban kings²; herein he

⁸ Syncell. p. 54—78.

⁹ Euseb. Chron. ad num. αχξζ. p. 175.

¹ Id. ad. num. α. p. 89.

² Syncell. p. 61; Euseb. Chron. p. 15.

followed neither the Epitome of Manetho³, nor Africanus⁴; however the Epitome suggesting that Manetho had ascribed one hundred and ninety years to the 16th dynasty, Eusebius writes to it the same number. Having thus fixed in what part of the dynasties he should begin his account, and what interval of years he had to fill up with Egyptian reigns, he proceeded as follows: 2. He observed, that the Epitome computed one hundred and three years as the contents of the 17th dynasty⁵; and accordingly he ascribes to it the same number of years. The Epitome stiles this dynasty Memphite; but Eusebius knowing, that Manetho had mentioned the Pastor kings, and counting down from the birth of Abraham, and computing this dynasty as reaching to the times of the Israelites being in Egypt; and conceiving that some of the Egyptian kings had been called Pastor kings from their receiving and entertaining Jacob and his children, a family of shepherds; he took from hence his title to this dynasty⁶, and called it the Pastor dynasty. 3. The Epitome supposes the 18th dynasty to be Memphite, the number of

³ Τανιτων ις. δυναστεια γενεων η. ετων ρζ. Epit. Syncell. p. 51.

⁴ Εκακαιδεκατη δυναστεια ποιμενες Ελληνες βασιλεις λς εξασιλευσαν ετη φιη. African. in Syncell. p. 61.

⁵ Syncell. p. 51.

⁶ Reges Ægyptiorum Pastores conjicimus nuncupatos propter Joseph et fratres ejus, qui in principio pastores descendisse in Ægyptum comprobantur. Chron. Euseb. Lat. p. 64.

kings fourteen, the sum of their years three hundred and forty-eight⁷. Africanus's 18th dynasty is Diospolitan, the number of its kings sixteen, the sum of the years of their reigns two hundred and eighty-four⁸. Here Eusebius, as to the title of the dynasty and number of reigns in it, corrects the Epitome by Africanus; but in the sum of years in the reigns, he corrects Africanus by the Epitome, making his 18th dynasty Diospolitan, and to contain sixteen kings, and their reigns to amount to three hundred and forty-eight years⁹. 4. In the Epitome the 19th dynasty is Diospolitan, the kings in it are five, the sum of years in their reigns one hundred and ninety-four¹: Africanus's 19th dynasty is likewise Diospolitan, the kings in it are seven, their reigns two hundred and ten years²; but here Eusebius takes the numbers of the Epitome, and sets down five kings and one hundred and ninety-four years³. 5. In the 20th dynasty his management is remarkable. The Epitome supposes this dynasty Diospolitan⁴, and Africanus gives it this title⁵. The Epitome numbers in it eight reigns of two hundred and twenty-eight years; Africanus twelve kings; but has no names of any of them; he supposes their reigns to amount to one hundred and thirty-five years. Eusebius here copies after Africanus, both in the number of the kings, and in not having the names

⁷ Syncell. p. 51.⁸ Id. p. 62—72.⁹ Euseb. Chron. a num. στδ p. 101. ad num. χμς. p. 118.¹ Syncell. p. 51.² Id. p. 72.³ Euseb. Chron. a num. χμς. p. 118. ad num. ωλε. p. 128.⁴ Syncell. p. 51.⁵ Id. p. 73.

of any of them; but differs from him in the sum of their years, which he sets down one hundred and seventy-eight. Eusebius seems to me to have chosen this dynasty to be the closure of his plan. All the other dynasties which he used have the names of the kings belonging to them; upon which account he was more obliged to fix them a number of years, such as he had some appearance of authority to justify, either from the Epitome or from Africanus. But having here a dynasty without names of kings contained in it, he could affix to it, without hazard of contradiction, such a number of years, as his other dynasties would fall short of one thousand six hundred and sixty-seven, which was the term to be filled up by him. 6. The Epitome and Africanus agree to call the 21st dynasty Tanite; the Epitome gives it six reigns, one hundred and twenty-one years; Africanus seven reigns, one hundred and thirty years⁶: Eusebius takes here the numbers of Africanus. 7. The Epitome calls the 22d dynasty Tanite, its reigns are three, years of reigns forty-eight⁷. Africanus makes here a Bubastite dynasty, and supposes its reigns three, years forty-nine⁸: Eusebius takes the title of the Epitome, and the numbers of Africanus⁹. 8. The 23d dynasty in the Epitome is Diospolitan, contains two kings, their reigns amount to nineteen years¹; in Africanus it is Tanite, consists of four kings, whose

⁶ Syncell. ubi sup.⁷ Id. ibid.⁸ Id. p. 73.⁹ Euseb. Chronic. a num. αμμδ. p. 144. ad num. αμζε. p. 147.¹ Syncell. ubi sup.

reigns make up eighty-nine years². Eusebius gives it Africanus's title, but describes in it three kings, and computes their reigns to be forty-four years³. 9. The 24th dynasty is Saitan, both according to the Epitome and Africanus⁴. The Epitome supposes it to contain three reigns of forty-four years; Africanus says, one reign of six years. Eusebius agrees with both as to the title, but ascribes it to Africanus's first reign, with forty-four, the number of years set down to it in the Epitome⁵. 10. The Epitome and Africanus agree that the 25th dynasty consisted of three Ethiopian kings, and their reigns to be forty-four years⁶; and herein Eusebius concurs with them⁷. 11. The Epitome supposes the 26th dynasty to consist of seven Memphite kings, who reigned one hundred and seventy-seven years⁸. Africanus represents that it contained nine Saitan kings, who reigned one hundred and fifty years six months⁹. Eusebius gives it Africanus's title and number of kings, but makes the years of their reigns one hundred and sixty-seven¹. 12. The 27th dynasty is, according to the Epitome, Persian, and contains the reigns of

² Syncell. p. 74.

³ Euseb. Chron. a num. αρ'ιγγ. p. 147. ad num. ασλς. p. 149.

⁴ Syncell. p. 52, 74.

⁵ Euseb. Chron. a num. ασλζ. p. 149. ad num. ασπ. p. 152.

⁶ Syncell. ubi sup.

⁷ Euseb. Chron. a num. ασπα. p. 152, ad num. ακκδ. p. 155.

⁸ Syncell. p. 52.

⁹ Id. p. 75.

¹ Euseb. Chron. a num. ακκε. p. 155. ad num. αγ'ια. p. 164.

five kings in one hundred and twenty-four years². Africanus reckons it also Persian, but computes that eight kings, reigning one hundred and twenty years four months, belonged to it³. Eusebius styles it Persian, and sets down in it seven kings, reigning one hundred and eleven years⁴. But these differences may be accounted for. Egypt came into subjection to the Persians, when Cambyses was king of Persia⁵, and recovered its liberty in the reign of Darius Nothus⁶; and some writers not taking into their accounts the Persian kings, who did not reign a full year, might reckon but five kings from the one to the other. Others might number, in their lists of Persian kings, Smerdes the Magian, who reigned some months, after him Darius Hystaspes, then Xerxes, then Artaxerxes, then the son of Artaxerxes, who reigned but two months, then Sogdianus, who reigned seven months, and then Darius Nothus⁷, and so with Cambyses make eight Persian kings in this dynasty. In like manner, if the years of this dynasty be computed, from the first year of Cambyses's reign in Persia to the last year of Darius Nothus, they will amount to one hundred and twenty-four, the number in the Epitome. If they be reckoned from the fourth or fifth year of Cambyses, the year in which the Persians conquered

² Syncell. p. 52.

³ Id. p. 76.

⁴ Euseb. Chron. a num. αὐτῶν. p. 164. ad num. αχχγ. p. 172.

⁵ Prideaux. Connect. part. i, b. iii.

⁶ Id. b. vi.

⁷ Consult Dean Prideaux's History of these times.

Egypt, they may amount to about Africanus's number, one hundred and twenty years four months. If they be more strictly calculated, from Cambyzes's conquest of Egypt to Amyrtens's being made king upon the revolt of the Egyptians from Darius Nothus, in about the tenth year of Darius's reign⁸, the interval will be, as Eusebius reckons it, one hundred and eleven years. 13. As to the 28th, 29th, and 30th dynasties, if we allow for little mistakes, which may easily happen in transcribing numbers; and consider that Tanite, Mendesian, and Sebennite may be synonymous terms, Mendes and Sebenneh having been cities of the land of Zoan or Tanis⁹, these dynasties in the Epitome, in Africanus, and in Eusebius, may be conceived to have been the same. Of this sort the reader, if he examines it, will find the work of Eusebius, as far as it relates to the Egyptian dynasties. Manetho had left only fifteen dynasties of mortal kings; for his other fifteen treated of gods, demi-gods, and heroes of a superior race¹. Upon this account Eusebius, in composing his Chronicon, rejected fifteen of Africanus's dynasties, reputed them prior to the times, of which he could hope to find any true history; and having selected the fifteen dynasties of Africanus from the 16th to the 30th, and new modelled them, by comparing them with the like dynasties added in the Epitome in the old Chronographeon; some-

⁸ See Prideaux's Connection, part i. b. 6.

⁹ Strabo Geograph.

¹ Vid. quæ sup. de Manethone.

times giving his dynasties titles and numbers from the Epitome, sometimes from Africanus, and now and then varying from both, if his purpose required it; and having thus formed such a series of Egyptian reigns as would fill up his interval between the birth of Abraham and the flight of Nectanebus, he gave himself no farther trouble; though one would think, he must have seen, that he might rather be said to have made a way to give the dynasties some appearance of an agreement with his chronology, than have given any true and just account of them.

VII. Syncellus is the next writer to whom we are to go for the Egyptian antiquities. He composed his *Chronographia* about the year of our LORD 800²; and transcribed into it what remains he could find of the more ancient writers, and some extracts from others, who had composed before him a work of like nature with what he attempted. Accordingly we find in him the contents of the old *Chronographeon*³, of Manetho's dynasties⁴, of Africanus's⁵, and of Eusebius's⁶, agreeably to what he judged to be the scheme and purport of each. In many places we have his strictures and observations, as he goes along, upon the matters offered by them; and has also given us Eratosthenes's catalogue of the Thebæan kings⁷.

² Marsham's *Can. Chron.* p. 7; Vossius de *Historic. Græc.* lib. ii, c. 24.

³ Syncell. p. 51.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 52.

⁵ *Id.* p. 54—77.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 91, &c.

He remarks, that the dynasty writers must have supposed that their 27th dynasty, which they call Persians, had begun when Cambyses king of Persia conquered Egypt⁸. Amasis was king of Egypt at that time⁹; and to this Amasis he brings down a list of eighty-six kings of Egypt, from Menes their first king, setting against each king's name the years of his reign as follows: I. Mestraim or Menes reigned 35 years. II. Curudes 63. III. Aristarchus 34. IV. Spanius 36. V. and VI. Two kings, whose names are lost, their reigns amounted to 72 years. VII. Serapis 23. VIII. Sejouchosis 49. IX. Amenemes 29¹. X. Amasis 2. XI. Acheseptres 13. XII. Achoreus 9. XIII. Arniyses 4. XIV. Chamois 12². XV. Amesises 65. XVI. — 14. XVII. Use 50. XVIII. Ramesses 29³. XIX. Ramessomenes 15. XX. Thusimares 31. XXI. Ramesse-seos 23. XXII. Ramesse-menos 19. XXIII. Ramesse-Tubaete 39⁴. XXIV. Ramesse-Vaphris 29. XXV. Concharis 5⁵. XXVI. Silites 19⁶. XXVII. Bæon 44⁷. XXVIII. Apachnas 36. XXIX. Apophis 61⁸. XXX. Sethos 50. XXXI. Certus, according to Josephus 29 years, according to Ma-

⁸ Syncell. p. 210.

⁹ Id. *ibid*.

¹ *Ibid*. p. 91; *vid*. Euseb. Chron. p. 17, 18.

² Χαμοίς 25. Euseb. p. 18.

³ Syncell. p. 96; *vid*. Euseb. Chron. p. 18.

⁴ Syncell. p. 101; Euseb. p. 20.

⁵ Syncell. p. 103; Euseb. 21.

⁶ Syncell. p. 104; Euseb. 21.

⁷ Βαίων 44. Euseb. 22.

⁸ Syncell. p. 108; Euseb. 22.

netho 44. xxxii. Aseth 20⁹. xxxiii. Amosis, who was also called Tethmosis, 22¹. xxxiv. Chebron 13. xxxv. Amephes 15. xxxvi. Amenses 11. xxxvii. Misphragmuthosis 16. xxxviii. Misphres 23. xxxix. Tuthmosis 39². xl. Amenophtis 34³. xli. Horus 48. xlii. Achencheres 25. xliii. Athoris 29. xliv. Chencheres 26⁴. xlv. Acheres 8, or 30. xlvi. Armæus, or Danaus, 9⁵. xlvii. Rameses, who was also called Ægyptus, 68. xlviii. Amenophis 8. xlix. Thuoris 17. l. Nechepsus 19. li. Psammuthis 13. lii. —4⁶. liii. Certus 20. liv. Rhampsis 45⁷. lv. Amenses, or Amenemes, 26⁸. lvi. Ochyras 14. lvii. Amedes 27. lviii. Thuoris 50⁹. lix. Athothis 28. lx. Cencenes 39. lxi. Venephes 42¹. lxii. Sussachim 34². lxiii. Psuenus 25. lxiv. Ammenophes 9. lxv. Nephecheres 6. lxvi. Saïtes 15. lxvii. Psinaches 9. lxviii. Petubastes 44. lxix. Osorthron 9. lxx. Psanmus 10. lxxi. Concharis 21³. lxxii. Osorthron 15. lxxiii. Tacelophes 13. lxxiv. Bocchoris 44. lxxv. Sabacon Æthiops 12.

⁹ Ασηθ κδ in margine Syncell. p. 123.

¹ Syncell. *ibid.*; Euseb. 23.

² Syncell. p. 147; Euseb. 25.

³ Syncell. p. 151; Euseb. 26.

⁴ *Ibid.* *ibid.*

⁵ Syncell. p. 155; Euseb. 29.

⁶ Ετη ιε. Euseb. 30.

⁷ Ετη ιε. Euseb. 30.

⁸ Syncell. p. 160; Euseb. 30.

⁹ Syncell. p. 169; Euseb. Chron. p. 32.

¹ Syncell. p. 170; Euseb. 33.

² Syncell. p. 177; Euseb. 34.

³ *Ibid.*

LXXVI. Sebechon 12⁴. LXXVII. Taracas 20.
 LXXVIII. Amaes 38. LXXIX. Stephinates 27.
 LXXX. Nacheptus 13⁵. LXXXI. Nechaab 8. LXXXII.
 Psammitichus 14. LXXXIII. Nechaab the second,
 called Pharaoh, 9. LXXXIV. Psammuthis, or Psam-
 mitichus the second, 17. LXXXV. Vaphres 34.
 LXXXVI. Amasis 50⁶.

It is queried by the learned, whence Syncellus collected this series of Egyptian kings⁷. Scaliger supposed that he had found it in the *Chronicon* of Eusebius; and accordingly in his attempt to retrieve that work, he has inserted these kings amongst others of Eusebius's collections. But in this point Scaliger must have been mistaken; we have no reason to imagine that this catalogue had ever been in Eusebius. It seems rather to have been, a great part of it, Syncellus's own composition, who imagined he could in this manner deduce the Egyptian kings. If the reader will strictly examine, he will find that the kings, from the forty-ninth to the eighty-sixth, might be taken from Africanus's 19th, 21st, 22d, 23d, 24th, 25th, and 26th dynasties; only Syncellus has now and then added or repeated a name of a king or two, and given new numbers to all their reigns, such probably as suited the scheme he had formed for the Egyptian chronology. From the twenty-third king to the

⁴ Syncell. p. 184; Euseb. 36.

⁵ Syncell. p. 191; Euseb. 38.

⁶ Syncell. p. 210; Euseb. 46, 47.

⁷ Marsham, *Can. Chron.* p. 7.

forty-eighth, we have a catalogue of Theban kings formed from considering and comparing Josephus's list with Africanus and Eusebius's 18th dynasty. The kings from the twenty-sixth to the thirty-second are taken from Josephus, Africanus, and Eusebius's account of the Pastor kings. From Mestram or Menes the first king, to Concharis the twenty-fifth, Syncellus does indeed give a series of reigns, which we do not now meet with in any writer before him. Perhaps, as Africanus mistook, and gave us a series of Thinite kings in his first and second dynasties, instead of Manetho's Tanite kings⁸; so here Syncellus, from some ancient quotations or remains, has happened upon the succession of Tanite kings, which might begin Manetho's accounts of the mortal kings; though, I dare say, he had no true notion of the nature of it. For Syncellus had certainly formed no right judgment of the Egyptian history; as appears evidently from his declaring that he knew no use of, nor occasion for, Eratosthenes's catalogue of Theban kings⁹. He found the fragment above mentioned; and seeing it differed from all other collections, he intended himself to differ from all others, who had written before him; for which reason, and probably for no other, he began his catalogue with it. He added to it the Pastor and Theban kings from Josephus, and completed it with taking as many names of kings from Afri-

⁸ See the notes in page 144.

⁹ Vid. Syncell. p. 147.

canus and other writers, as he thought he wanted; and having taken the liberty to give to the several reigns of these later kings, not the numbers of years assigned them by the writers from whom he took them, but such as might bring down the succession in a manner suitable to his own chronology, this was his attempt towards clearing the Egyptian history¹. The reader, if he examines, will after all find that Syncellus's catalogue is somewhat too long for the interval, to which he intended to adjust it: but the learned are apprised, that Syncellus's work is in many places inaccurate in this matter.

VIII. We are in the last place to consider what our learned countryman Sir John Marsham has done upon this subject. And, 1. He considered Egypt as being divided into four concurrent kingdoms in the most early ages; namely, into the kingdoms of Thebes, of This, of Memphis, and of Tanis, or Lower Egypt². 2. He formed a canon or table, to give the reader, in one view, the contemporary kings of each kingdom. And, 3. In the execution of his work in proper chapters, he endeavours to justify the position of the kings, according to the succession assigned to them in the

¹ Sir John Marsham says very justly of Syncellus, "*Reges comminiscitur, annosque et successiones mutilat vel extendit, prout ipsi visum est, ut imprudentiam hominis non possis non mirari, qui cum aliis rixatur, ipse cum sit reprehensioni maxime obnoxius.*" Can. Chron. p. 7.

² Marsham, Can. Chron. p. 24.

respective columns of his canon. The following Tables will give the reader a view of Sir John Marsham's succession of the Egyptian kings, from Menes, the first king over all Egypt, to the times of Sesac, who came against Jerusalem in the fifth year of Rehoboam³.

³ 2 Chron. xii. 2, 3.

I. SIR JOHN MARSHAM'S TABLE OF KINGS OF
EGYPT.

Kings of Thebes taken from Eratosthenes.	Kings of This taken from Manetho.	Kings of Memphis taken from Manetho.	Kings of Lower Egypt taken from Syncellus.
Reigned years, 1 Menes.....62	1 Menes.....62 1 Dynast. African. Syn- cell. p. 54.	Menes built Memphis Herodot. l. ii. c. 99.	1 Menes, or Mestram 35 Syncell. p. 91.
2 Athothes 59	2 Athothes 57	III. Dy. Afric. Syncell. p. 56.	2 Curudes...63
		1 Tosor- thrus....29	3 Aristar- chus....34
	3 Cencenes 31	2 Tyris.....7	
3 Athothes 32		3 Mesochris 17	4 Spanius....36
		4 Soiphis...16	
		5 Tosertasis 19	
4 Diabies....19	4 Venephes 23	6 Achis.....42	5 * * * * * 32
5 Pemphos 18	5 Usaphæ- dus.....20		
6 Tægar Ama- chus Mom- cheiri79	6 Miebidus 26	7 Siphuris...30	6 * * * * * 40
	7 Semem- phis.....18	8 Cerperes 26	7 Serapis...23
	8 Bienaches 26	IV. Dyn. Afric.	
	II. Dyn. Afric.	9 Soris.....29	8 Sesoncho- sis.....49
7 Stæchus....6	9 Bochas...33	10 Syphis...63	9 Amenemes 29 Syncell. p. 96.
8 Gosor- mies.....30			10 Amasis2
9 Mares26	10 Keachos 39	11 Syphis...66	11 Acheseph- thre....1
10 Anoy- phes20	11 Bino- thris...47		

TABLE OF THE KINGS OF EGYPT,

Continued.

Kings of Thebes.	Kings of This.	Kings of Memphis.	Kings of Lower Egypt.
11 Sirius....18			12 Achoreus 9
12 Chnubus Gneurus 22			13 Armiyses 4
			14 Chamois 12
			15 Amesises 65
13 Ranosis 13	12 Tlas.....17		
14 Biyris....10	13 Sethenes 41		16 * * * * 14
15 Saophis 29		12 Menche- res.....63	17 Use.....50
16 Sen-Sao- phis....,27	14 Cheres...17		18 Ramesses 29
	15 Nepher- cheres..25		
17 Mosche - ris31	16 Seso- chris....43	13 Rataeses 25	Syncell. p. 101.
18 Musthis 33		14 Bicheres 22	19 Ramesso- menes...15
		15 Seber- cheres....7	20 Thusima- res31
19 Pammus Archondes 35	17 Chene- res..... 30	16 Thamptis 9	21 Rames- seos.....23
		VI. Dyn. Afric.	22 Ramesse- menos...19
20 Apappus Maximus 100	18 Nechero- phes....28	17 Othoes	23 Ramesse- Tubaete 39
	Here the king- dom of This ended.	18 Phius.....53	Syncell. p. 103.
	Sum of the Years 593	19 Methusu- phis7	
21 Achescus Ocaras...1		20 Phiops 100	24 Ramesse- Vaphres 29
22 Nitocris...6		21 Mentesu- phis1	25 Concharis 6
		22 Nitocris 12	
Sum of the Years 675		Sum of the years 643	Sum of the Years 701

In this manner Sir John Marsham deduces the account of the ancient kings of Egypt, down to the time of the Pastors' irruption⁴: the Pastors invaded Egypt in the reign of Timæus⁵. Sir John Marsham supposes that Concharis was the king, whom Josephus calls Timæus⁶; and agreeably hereto Syncellus conceived that Silites or Salatis, who was the⁷ first Pastor king, had succeeded Concharis, his twenty-fifth king of Lower Egypt⁸. Nitocris is thought to have been the last of the crowned heads of Memphis; for we find in Africanus no name of any king of this kingdom after her⁹; therefore here we are to fix the period or dissolution of it, and we find that the Pastors over-ran not only the lower Egypt; but took Memphis¹ and possessed themselves of this kingdom also. Nitocris was queen not only of Memphis, but likewise of Thebes; for we find her name twenty-second in Eratosthenes's Theban catalogue. Sir John Marsham observes, that her predecessor in both kingdoms reigned but one year, and the king before him in both kingdoms exactly a hundred². He judiciously concludes from hence, that

⁴ Marsham, p. 18, 20.

⁵ Josephus contra Ap. lib. i. c. 14.

⁶ Marsham, p. 91, 98, &c.

⁷ Josephus contra Ap. lib. i, c. 14, &c.

⁸ Syncell. p. 103, 104.

⁹ Vid. Marsham, Can. Chron. p. 90.

¹ Josephus, contra Ap. lib i, c. 14.

² Θηβαιων κ. εβασιλευσεν Απαπτης μεγιστος· οτος ως φασιν παρα ωραν μιαν ετη ρ. εβασιλευσεν· Θηβαιων κα. εβασιλευσεν

Apappus Maximus, king of Thebes, and Phiops, king of Memphis, were but one and the same person, as were also Acheschus Ocaras and Menteshis, who succeeded in each kingdom; and that the kingdoms of Memphis and Thebes were united two reigns at least before Nitocris³. She is recorded to have reigned twelve years at Memphis, and six only at Thebes. I suppose that Memphis was, at her coming to the throne, the seat of her kingdom; she was obliged to retire out of this country when the Pastors invaded it, and after this retreat she reigned six years at Thebes. The kingdom of This did not last until the invasion of the Pastors; very probably the Theban kings, when they grew powerful by the accession of the kingdom of Memphis, added this little domain to their territories⁴. Upon these hints and observations, Sir John Marsham has opened a prospect of coming at a history of the succession of the kings of Egypt; and that in a method so natural and easy, that it must approve itself to any person who enters truly into the design and conduct of it. He gives us Eratosthenes's Theban kings; he ranges with these, Syncellus's twenty five kings of Mēstræa or Lower Egypt⁵; and by taking Africanus's dynas-

Αχεςχος Οκαρας ετος α. Eratosth in Syncell p. 104.
 Εκτη Δυνασειων βασιλειων Μεμοιτων δ Φιωψ εξαετης αρχαμενος,
 βασιλευειν διεγενετο μεχρις ετων ρ. ε. Μεντεσουφισ ετος εν.
 African. in Syncell. p. 58.

³ Ista regnandi æqualis inæqualitas nimis insolita est, ut illam bis et simul fortuito contigisse credamus. Marsham, p. 85.

⁴ Id. ibid.

⁵ Syncell. p. 91.

ties in pieces, by separating the Thinite dynasties from the Memphite; by collecting the kings of each title into a distinct catalogue, he gives us two other concurrent lists of the names of the kings of the other two kingdoms.

There is one difficulty, which I wish our very learned author had considered and discussed for us; which is, that the catalogues of the kings of three of the four kingdoms are too long to come within the intervals of time, which the true chronology of the world can allow for them. For to begin with Lower Egypt: Menes, or the Mizraim of Moses⁶, came into this country about A. M. 1772⁷. It was a fen or marsh in his time⁸, and he does not seem to have made a long stay in it. He went forward and built Memphis⁹; afterwards, one hundred and twenty-four years after the dispersion of mankind¹, A. M. 1881, he went into the country of Thebais. After having made settlements here, he seems to have come back and formed a kingdom in Lower Egypt thirty-five years before his death; for Menes stands recorded king of this country only thirty-five years²; if so, then this kingdom was founded about A. M. 1901³. The Pastors came into Egypt about A. M. 2420⁴. The interval is five hundred and

⁶ See vol. i, b. iv, p. 183.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Herodot. lib. ii, c. 4.

⁹ Id. c. 99.

¹ Apollodor. in Euseb. Chron. p. 18; Syncell. p. 147.

² Μεσσαιμ ο και Μηνης ετη λε. Syncell. p. 91.

³ Menes died A. M. 1943; see vol. i, b. iv, p. 187.

⁴ See vol. ii, b. vii, p. 210.

twelve years ; but the twenty-five kings of Lower Egypt above mentioned reigned seven hundred and one years ; *i. e.* one hundred and eighty-nine years longer than we can find a space of time for them. In like manner, 2. If we consider the Theban kings ; Mizraim came into this country A. M. 1881⁵, let us from this year begin the computation of his reign or kingdom. From this year to A. M. 2420, the year of the invasion of the Pastors, are five hundred and thirty-nine years ; but the reigns of the Theban kings, from Menes to the twelfth year after⁶ the decease of Achescus Ocaras, the predecessor of Nitocris, are six hundred and eighty-two years ; so that this catalogue reaches down beyond the incursion of the Pastors one hundred and seventy years. 3. The kingdom of This is recorded to begin from the sixty-second year before the death of Menes⁷ ; from the year of the rise of the kingdom of Thebes, A. M. 1881. The reigns of the kings of This amount to five hundred and ninety-three years⁸ ; but from A. M. 1881 to 2420, the year of the Pastors, are, as I said, but five hundred and thirty-nine years ; so that this catalogue is too

⁵ Vid. quæ sup. and vol. i, b. iv, p. 187.

⁶ We must compute in this manner, if we allow Achescus Ocaras to have been the same person with Menteshuphis, who was Nitocris's predecessor in the Memphite catalogue ; and suppose Nitocris to have reigned twelve years at Memphis, and then, being obliged to quit that country by the Pastors, to have reigned afterwards six years at Thebes.

⁷ African. in Syncell. p. 54.

⁸ Vid. Tab. seu. Can.

long by fifty-four years. As to the kingdom of Memphis, a better account of it seems to offer itself to us. Menes entered Egypt A. M. 1772⁹: he stayed but a little while in the Lower Egypt, perhaps about three years, until he had formed Zoan, a little town, which was built seven years after Hebron in Canaan¹. Here he might plant a few inhabitants, and go forward and build Noph or Memphis higher up the country; and designing to go himself a farther progress, he might make his son Toserthrus, or Naphtuhim² the first governor or king of this city about A. M. 1777: accordingly the reigns in the Memphite dynasties begin not from Menes, but from Toserthrus³. The sum of the reigns from the first year of Toserthrus to the twelfth of Nitocris are six hundred and forty-three years which, if we count down from A. M. 1777, will bring us to A. M. 2420, the year in which, I suppose the Pastors entered Egypt, and reduced this kingdom. Thus the Memphite succession very fully accords with true chronology; and probably, if the other successions were carefully examined, a little pains would enable us to bring them to an agreement with it. For,

The catalogue of Mestraean kings exceeds, indeed, in length, about one hundred and eighty-nine years; but I apprehend, that some interpolations

⁹ Vide quæ sup.

¹ Numb. xiii, 22.

² See vol. i. b. iv, p. 191; Gen. x. 13.

³ African. in Syncell. p. 56.

made by Syncellus are the cause of it. Three of the reigns, the fifth, sixth, and sixteenth, are mere numbers without names of kings annexed to them. And Serapis the seventh king, Sesonchosis the eighth⁴, Amanemes the ninth⁵, and Amasis the tenth⁶, are all names of kings inserted here by Syncellus to lengthen the catalogue, so as to make it suit his scheme of chronology. Syncellus took great liberties in this manner⁷: the numbers of years affixed to all these reigns amount to the hundred and eighty-nine; if we therefore strike out these reigns, we reduce the catalogue to a true measure. I would not be too tedious to the reader, and shall therefore leave it to him, if he chooses to enter deeper into this subject, to consider, whether the Theban and Thinite catalogues may not be as well adjusted, if they be examined and corrected in a proper manner.

From the Pastors invading and completing their conquests in Egypt, our learned author considers the country as parted only into two kingdoms.

⁴ Sesonchosis was the same person as Sesostris, vid. Scholiast. in Apoll. Argonaut. ver. 272, p. 411, and lived in a much later age.

⁵ Amanemes is again repeated by Syncellus, and is his fifty-fifth king.

⁶ Amasis is his eighty-eighth. He disguises the repetition of the names of Amanemes and Amasis, by giving different numbers of years to their reigns; but we have no reason to think there were such kings in this age.

⁷ Reges comminiscitur, annosque et successiones mutilat vel extendit, prout ipsi visum est, magna nominum, maxima numerorum interpolatione.—Marsham, Can. Chron. p. 7.

The Pastors possessed the land of Memphis, and of Tanis or Lower Egypt; the Thebans, whom the Pastors did not conquer, held their own country, and had added the land of This to it. Africanus indeed suggests a dynasty of Elephantine kings, supposing nine successions of them⁸. Elephantis was a remote city in the most southern parts of Egypt⁹, above two hundred miles higher up into the country than Thebes or Diospolis¹. The names of kings, supposed to be of this kingdom, have a great similitude with those of the kings of This, and perhaps some little companies of Thinites, when the Thebans conquered their country, might travel into this distant region, and plant themselves here, and build a city, and have a quiet enjoyment of it, for above two centuries². We find no history, nor any thing recorded of these Elephantines, and, probably, after having lived for the space above mentioned in a little independent society, at the end of that term, the Thebans extending and enlarging their country, they might at last become a city or district of *their* kingdom. The following table will give the reader a view of Sir John Marsham's continuation of the Theban kings, and of the succession of the Pastor reigns until the Pastors were expelled Egypt.

⁸ African. Dynast. v. in Syncell. p. 57.

⁹ Herodot. lib. ii, c. 17, 18, 29.

¹ Id. c. 9.

² The reigns supposed by Africanus to belong to this dynasty, amount to two hundred and eighteen years.

II. TABLE OF EGYPTIAN KINGS.

Continuation of Eratosthenes' Theban Kings.		Pastor Kings from Manetho, &c. See Joseph. and African., 15th Dynasty.	
	Yrs. M.		Yrs. M.
23. Myrtæus.....	22 0	1. Salatis ;.....	19 0
24. Thuosi Mares.....	12 0	2. Bæon	44 0
25. Thimillus	8 0	3. Apachuas	36 7
26. Sempbrucrates	18 0	4. Apophes.....	61 0
27. Chouther Taurus	7 0	5. Janias	50 1
28. Meuros Philoscopus	12 0	6. Assis	40 2
29. Choma Eptha	11 0	21st Dyn., African. ⁴ in Syncell. p. 123.	
30. Anchunius Ochyranus.....	60 0	7. Smedes	26 0
31. Pente-Athyris.....	16 0	8. Psusenes.....	46 0
32. Stamenemes	23 0	9. Nephelcheres	4 0
33. Sistosichermes	55 0	10. Amenophthis	9 0
34. Mæris.....	43 0	11. Osocher	6 0
35. Siphos or Mercury	5 0		
36. ——— ³ ———	14 0	12. Pinaches	9 0
37. Phruron or Nilus	5 0	13. Susennes	14 0
38. Amuthantæus.....	63 0	23d Dyn. Afric.	
Here ends the Catalogue of Eratosthenes.		14. Petubates	40 0
From Manetho, 18th Dynasty of Africanus. See Josephus.		15. Osorcho	8 0
39. Amosis.....	25 4	16. Psammus	10 0
40. Chebron.....		17. Zoet... ..	31 0
41. Amenophis.....	27 7		
42. Amesses	21 9		
43. Mephres.....	12 9		
44. Misphragmuthosis	25 10		

³ Sir John Marsham passes over this reign, there being no name annexed to it, and supposes that Nilus succeeded Mercury, and Eratosthenes' Catalogue contained but thirty-seven kings. Can. p. 94. 238.

⁴ It may be here remarked, that both Manetho and Africanus (see Chronograph. in Syncell. p. 52; African. Dyn. p. 71) stile this dynasty Tanite. But to this it may be answered, that the Pastors, possessing the land of Tanis or Lower Egypt, were the Tanite kings of these times,

Misphragmuthosis, or Alisfragmuthosis, gave the Pastors a great overthrow in battle, and shut them up in Abaris, where he confined them by a close siege⁵. His son was

45. Tuthmosis 9 years 8 months.

The Pastors capitulated with this king at his coming to the crown, and surrendered upon condition to be suffered to march out of Egypt⁶. Next to Tuthmosis, or Tummosis, reigned

46. Amenophis 30 years 10 months.

In the reign of this king the Pastors invaded Egypt again, and for thirteen years dispossessed him of his kingdom; but at the end of that term Amenophis came with an army, and entirely conquered them, and expelled them Egypt for ever⁷, and at this their second expulsion, the five hundred and eleven years are computed to end, during which the Pastors are said to have held Egypt⁸.

After this second expulsion of the Pastors, Sir John Marsham adds the following Theban kings, sole monarchs of all Egypt.

⁵ Joseph. contra Ap. lib. i, c. 14.

⁶ Id. ibid.

⁷ Id. ibid. 26, 28; Marsham Can. Chronic. p. 318.

⁸ The Pastor reigns above mentioned, from Salatis to Zet, amount to four hundred and seventy-eight years ten months; the reign of Tuthmosis is nine years eight months. If the Pastors invaded Egypt again in the tenth year of Amenophis, and were totally conquered thirteen years after; this conquest of them will indeed fall five hundred and eleven years from the first year of Salatis.

	Years.	M.
47 Orus reigned	36	5
48 Achenchres	12	1
49 Rathotis.....	9	0
50 Acencheres	12	5
51 Acencheres	12	3
52 Armais.....	4	1
53 Ramesses.....	1	4
54 Ramesses Miamun.....	66	2
55 Amenophis.....	19	6
19th Dynast. African.		
56 Sethosis, Sesostris, or Sesac.		

The reader has now before him a view of Sir John Marsham's scheme from the beginning of the reigns of the Egyptian kings down to his Sesostris or Sesac: and if he will take the pains thoroughly to examine it, if he will take it in pieces into all its parts, review the materials of which it is formed, consider how they lie in the authors from whom they are taken, and what manner of collecting and disposing them is made use of, he will find, that, however in some lesser points a variation from our very learned author may be defensible, yet no tolerable scheme can be formed of the ancient Egyptian history, which does not in the main agree with him. Sir John Marsham has led us to a clear and natural place for the name of every Egyptian king, and time of his reign, who is mentioned by either Eratosthenes, Africanus from Manetho, Josephus, or Syncellus, which we can reasonably think had a real place in the Egyptian history; for as to the name of the king in Africanus's 9th dynasty, called a dynasty of kings of Heracleo-

polis⁹, Manetho made no such dynasty¹. Africanus found out one of the names of the kings of it². Heracleotis, Heracleopolis, or Heroopolis, was a city of Lower Egypt, near one of the mouths or outlets of the Nile into the sea³. Perhaps it was a town not immediately reduced by the Pastors, and its holding out, and preserving its liberty for some time, might occasion the writers of after-ages to think it had been an independent kingdom, who endeavoured to form dynasties of its kings. In like manner we may remark concerning Africanus's 22d dynasty, which he calls Bubastite. Bubastus was a city of Lower Egypt⁴, probably governed by magistrates, deputies to the Pastors, or it might, perhaps, revolt from the Tanite or Pastor kings, when the Thebans began to weaken and distress them, and become a free town, and have governors of its own for some successions towards the end of the times of the Pastors being in Egypt; and some mention of this sort having been made of it, might occasion after-writers to number its magistrates among the kings of Egypt. But Manetho made no such dynasty; accordingly Sir John Marsham does not collect these kings. Were there indeed any such kings, a place might be found for them, by setting them down as contemporaries with some of the last Pastor or Tanite kings. Sir John Marsham has not taken into

⁹ African. in Syncell. p. 59.

¹ Vid. Chron. ib. p. 52.

² African. ubi sup.

³ Strabo, Geogr. l. ii, p. 85.

⁴ Strabo, Geogr. ib. l. xvii, p. 805.

this part of his canon the kings of the 11th, 12th, and 19th dynasties of Africanus: the reader may see his reasons for omitting them⁵. I think a different account from that of our most learned author may be given of them⁶; but I shall give what I conceive to be the true account of these kings, when I come down to the times succeeding the reigns of Sesac, where I shall be also able, with less trouble and more perspicuity, to adjust Eratosthenes's canon of Theban kings, and Sir John Marsham's supplement of reigns added to it, to a true length. As they now stand in his canon, Nitocris the 22d in Eratosthenes must be thought to have reigned A. M. 2420. The sixteen reigns succeeding her's to the end of Eratosthenes's catalogue, contain three hundred and seventy-four years; the seventeen reigns added to these by Sir John Marsham, from Amosis to Sesothis, Sesostris, or Sesac, contain three hundred and fifty-four years⁷; add these together, and we come down to A. M. 3148; but Sesac came against Jerusalem A. M. 3033⁸; so that here again the Theban list of kings appears to be of too great a length by above one hundred and fifteen years.

If the Pastors came into Egypt as above, about A. M. 2420, and their first king Salatis reigned nineteen years, their second king Beon reigned forty-four, and their third king Apophis thirty-six

⁵ Can. Chron. p. 391, 392

⁶ Vid. quæ supra.

⁷ Vid. Eratosth.; vid. Marsham, p. 96.

⁸ Usher's Annals.

years and seven months⁹, the end of Apophis's reign falls A. M. 2520; so that he was the Pharaoh or king of Lower Egypt, who pursued the Israelites, and perished in the Red Sea. The exit of the Israelites out of Egypt, and their passing over the Red Sea, happened A. M. 2513; but the judicious reader will not expect to be ascertained of our having all the numeral characters in the Egyptian reigns so truly calculated, or conveyed down to us, that the difference between A. M. 2513 and 2520 of six or seven years, can want to be accounted for.

⁹ Vid. Joseph. contra Ap. lib. i; Marsham, Can. Chron. p. 94.



THE
SACRED AND PROFANE
HISTORY OF THE WORLD
CONNECTED.

BOOK XII.

IN the first month of the fortieth year after the exit out of Egypt, A. M. 2553, the Israelites came into the desart of Sin¹, and pitched their tents at Kadesh. Miriam died soon after their coming hither². They found little or no water in these parts, and as soon as their wants made them uneasy, they murmured against Moses and Aaron³. Moses and Aaron consulted God for a supply, and Moses was ordered to go with Aaron and gather the assembly. Moses was then to take Aaron's rod, and he and Aaron were to speak unto a rock in the desart, and which rock was to pour out water in the sight of all the Israelites⁴. We have no mention of the Israelites from the time of the

¹ Numb. xx, 1.

² Ibid.

³ Ver. 3, 4, 5.

⁴ Ver. 8.

rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, until they came into this difficulty. There had passed six or seven and thirty years in this interval; during which time Moses had led them up and down from place to place⁵, as God had thought fit to direct their journeyings by the cloud which moved before them⁶. And it is probable, that, during all this space of time, the people had been very obedient, for we hear of no discontents or oppositions amongst them. This was their first emotion; for now they began to be refractory again; but Moses could not now so well bear it, and was here transported beyond his usual temper. The murmurings of the people *provoked his spirit, so that he spake unadvisedly with his lips*⁷. He and Aaron here committed a fault, for which God pronounced against them, that they should not bring the people into the land which he had given them⁸. The commentators appear in some doubt, what the fault was of which Moses and Aaron were here guilty; but I think it a point not hard to be determined. When Moses undertook the charge of the people, after they were passed the Red Sea, it was strictly required of him, that he should be punctually obedient to all the directions which God should give him⁹. He was to be a minister of the power of God unto his people, and in all his actions to be *faithful to him that ap-*

⁵ Numb. xxxiii.

⁷ Psal. cvi, 33.

⁹ Exod. xv. 26.

⁶ Exod. xl, 36, 37.

⁸ Numb. xx, 12.

*pointed him*¹, to promote his glory; to convince the people that the LORD was really their God, and that there was none else besides him, who could protect and assist them, or whom they ought to worship. This Moses had hitherto observed in all his conduct; but in the instance before us there is a failure in his behaviour. When the people were in distress here by want of water, God vouchsafed to hear their complaint, and directed Moses and Aaron to give them a demonstration, that his power was ready at hand miraculously to relieve them. They had been once before in the same strait; when God thought fit to cause a rock, upon Moses striking it with his rod, to pour forth water². But here Moses and Aaron were commanded to take the rod; to go and stand before a rock appointed them, having summoned the people to see how God would relieve them; then they were to speak only to the rock, and the rock was to give forth water. Had the Israelites been here prone to entertain any superstitious fancy of the virtue of that rod, which had been the instrument of so many miracles, what an opportunity had Moses to convince them of their folly, and evidencing, that neither himself, nor Aaron, nor the rod, was of any importance, but that God could have perfected the same wonders by a word only, if he had thought fit to have done them in

¹ Heb. iii. 2.² Exod. xvii.

that manner. But instead of thus discharging himself, he took the rod, and he and Aaron gathered the congregation, and he said unto them: *Hear now, ye rebels, must we fetch you water out of this rock? And Moses lift up his hand, and smote the rock twice, and the water came out abundantly*³. In this he spoke and acted unadvisedly⁴; for he did not speak or act according to the commission which GOD had given him; but spake and acted of himself, too great an argument of an affectation of raising his own credit; for *he that speaketh of himself, seeketh his own glory*⁵. Moses expressed himself to have had this sense of things upon another occasion. When Nadab and Abihu offered strange fire before the LORD, which he commanded them not, Moses remonstrated their crime to Aaron in the clearest terms, and declared, that GOD would be *sanctified in them that came nigh him, and glorified before all the people*⁶. But here he and Aaron joined in a part very different from these sentiments. Their duty was to have glorified GOD in the sight of the congregation, by punctually performing what he had directed. But instead of this, they did and said what he commanded them not, and thereby gave the Israelites an opportunity to imagine that the supply might come from them, from their power and ability to procure it. And for this reason, because they were not strictly care-

³ Numb. xx, 10, 11.⁴ Psalm cvi, 32.⁵ John vii, 18.⁶ Levit. x, 3.

ful to promote the glory of GOD, instead of raising their own credit⁷ among the people, they were sentenced not to lead the Israelites into the land of Canaan.

Kadesh, near which the Israelites were at this time encamped, was a city upon the borders of the land of Edom⁸; from the neighbourhood of which place Moses sent messengers unto the king of Edom to ask leave to march through his country⁹. The Israelites had received a strict charge not to¹ make any attempt against this people; and Moses's message was in terms of the greatest assurance of friendship to them. He acknowledged the relation between them and Israel, and promised, in the most explicit manner, that he would only pass through their country, without foraging any part of it, or injuring any person inhabitant of it². But the Edomites were not willing to run the venture. Hitherto they had been governed by dukes³; but about this time, apprehending danger, they made a king, thinking it necessary to unite under one head for their common preservation. This king of Edom refused to admit the Israelites into his territories, and guarded his frontiers with numerous forces⁴; whereupon the Israelites were obliged to

⁷ The 12th verse of xxth chapter of Numbers should be thus translated: *Because ye were not faithful to me, to (sanctify or) glorify me, in the eyes of the children of Israel, therefore ye shall not bring this congregation into the land which I have given them.*

⁸ Numb. xx, 16.

⁹ Numb. xx, 14.

¹ See Deut. ii, 4, 5, 6.

² Numb. xx, 17—19.

³ See vol. ii, b. vii, p. 170.

⁴ Numb. xx, 18, 20.

march another way, and therefore moved from Kadesh to mount Hor. Upon mount Hor Aaron died, and Eleazar his son was appointed high-priest in his place⁵. Aaron was a hundred and twenty years old when he died in mount Hor⁶, and died there in the fortieth year after the children of Israel were come out of the land of Egypt⁷, and so died A. M. 2553.

The king of Arad, a city in the southern parts of Canaan, upon the Israelites coming near his borders, attacked them, and took some of them prisoners⁸. The Israelites had offered no violence to his country, and were so provoked at this attempt upon them, that they vowed a vow unto the LORD, that if they should hereafter be able, they would utterly destroy this people⁹; and they were enabled, and did perform this vow in the days of Joshua¹, or in a little time after his death². The third verse of this twenty-first chapter of Numbers seems to intimate that the Israelites at this time conquered these Canaanites, and utterly destroyed them and their cities. But this was not fact; for the king of Arad is one of those who were conquered by Joshua³; and the vengeance here threatened was either executed upon this people by his hand, or completed by Judah and Simeon, when they slew the Canaanites that inhabited Zephath,

Numb. xx, 22—29.

⁷ Chap. xxxiii, 38.

⁹ Ver. 2.

² See Judges i, 17.

⁶ Chap. xxxiii, 39.

⁸ Chap. xxi, 1.

¹ See Josh. xii, 14.

³ Josh. xii, 14.

and utterly destroyed it⁴. The kingdom of Arad was not conquered in the days of Moses, and therefore we cannot suppose, that the remark here inserted, that the *Lord hearkened unto the voice of Israel, and delivered up the Canaanites, and they utterly destroyed them and their cities*, was of his writing. I think Moses left the text thus: *And Israel vowed a vow unto the LORD, and said, If thou wilt indeed deliver this people into my hand, then I will utterly destroy their cities, and called the name of the place Hormah, i. e.* Israel called the place so, in token, that if ever it should be in their power, they designed to make it desolate⁵. As to what is added in the third verse, that *the LORD hearkened unto the voice of Israel, and delivered up the Canaanites, and that they utterly destroyed them and their cities*; the thing was not done, and therefore the remark could not be made in the days of Moses. The words perhaps might be written, by way of observation, in the margin of some ancient MS. of the Pentateuch, after the Israelites had destroyed the Canaanites; copiers from such a MS. might afterwards transcribe it from the margin into the text, and thereby occasion it to come down to us as part of it.

The king of Edom refusing to admit the Israelites to pass through his country, and the king of Arad opposing them upon the frontiers of his kingdom, they were obliged to retire back into the

⁴ Judges i, 17.

⁵ The word *Hormah* signifies a place devoted to destruction.

wilderness, and therefore decamped from mount Hor. They were ordered to march towards the Red Sea, and to fetch a compass round about the land of Edom⁶. They began this expedition, but the soul of the people was much discouraged because of the way⁷. They remonstrated to Moses all the difficulties which would attend it; complained that they should be distressed for want of water, and that, as to the manna, they loathed it⁸, and therefore were not willing to go again through a desert, where they could expect no other provision. They began hereupon to be too mutinous for Moses to lead them any farther, had not God been pleased to correct them for their obstinacy, by sending amongst them fiery serpents, which destroyed many of them⁹. This calamity soon humbled them, and upon their intreating Moses, he prayed for them, and obtained them a cure of the malady which afflicted them. God directed him to make a serpent, and set it up in the camp; and promised, that whoever would look upon it, should, though bitten with a fiery serpent, recover and live¹. Moses made a serpent of brass, as he was commanded; which the people found to be a remedy against the calamity, that had destroyed great numbers of them².

Sir John Marsham is very particular in his remarks upon the setting up this brazen serpent³.

⁶ Numb. xxi, 4.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ver. 5.

⁹ Ver. 6.

¹ Ver. 8.

² Ver. 9.

³ Can. Chron. p. 142.

He has collected several passages from profane writers, which hint at charms and enchantments to cure the bite of serpents; and says, the Hebrews made use of enchantments for this very purpose; which assertion he endeavours to support by a citation from the Psalms, by another from Ecclesiastes, and by a third from Jeremiah; and from the whole of what he offers, he would intimate, that the cure of the Israelites here, who were bitten, was not miraculous; but that the brazen serpent *venenum extinguebat* — *et morsus arte levabat*, was a charm for the calamity⁴, or an amulet for the distemper⁵, *αλεξήτηριον της τοσαυτης πληγης*. It would be trifling to endeavour to refute this opinion; for no one, acquainted with Sir John Marsham's way of thinking, can suppose that he believed it. I dare say, he thought a charm for the bite of a serpent as ridiculous on the one hand, as the opinion of some learned commentators is on the other; who, in order to make the miracle appear the greater, contend that brass is of a virulent nature, and that the looking upon a serpent made of that metal, would, by way of sympathy, add rancour to the wounds, instead of curing them⁶. To a reasonable inquirer, the brazen serpent cannot appear to have been, of itself, of any effect at all. This unquestionably was Sir John Marsham's opinion; and what he cites from heathen writers was intended by him to prove, not that charms had

⁴ Can. Chron. p. 144.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Vid. Pol. Synops. Crit. in loc.

ever been a real cure for the bite of serpents, but that the world had been amused with such fancies. And he cites the sacred writers in order to hint, that they admitted and countenanced these popular superstitions; but his real thoughts about Moses and the Israelites in the case before us appear to me to have been, that the bitings of the serpents with which the Israelites were infested, were not mortal; that Moses set up the brazen serpent to amuse the people, that those who were bitten might make themselves easy by looking at it, in hopes of a cure, until the poison had spent itself, and the inflammation ceased; that when they grew well, Moses might teach them to ascribe their cure to a secret efficacy of the brazen serpent, in order to raise and support his credit among them. This must be our learned writer's sentiment, in its full strength and latitude; to which I answer,

I. There were indeed serpents of divers sorts in many parts of the world; and some not so venomous, but that their bite was curable. Diodorus Siculus informs us, that in the island Taprobane, now called Ceylon, there were serpents of a large kind, of no noxious quality⁷; and Herodotus mentions a lesser sort as free from venom in the parts near Thebes, in Egypt⁸. The inhabitants of Epidaurus in Greece were well acquainted with these sorts of serpents⁹, and such abounded in Ethiopia¹.

⁷ Diodor. Sic. lib. ii, p. 99.

⁸ Herodot. lib. ii, c. 74; Id. lib. iii, c. 109.

⁹ Pausan. in Corinthiac. c. 28.

¹ Herodot. l. iv, c. 183.

Pausanias was of opinion, that the same sort of serpents would not be equally venomous in different countries; for that a different pasture may add to, or diminish the virulence of their poison². And thus it may be true in fact, that there anciently were, and now are in the world, many sorts of serpents not thought capable of biting mortally; but that a little time and patience, without much help of medicine, might heal the wounds received from them. And we may suppose, that the nature of the more noxious sorts might be mitigated by removing them into a climate, or managing them with diet not apt to supply them with too potent a poison³. And physic and surgery are now brought to such perfection, that perhaps there is no poison of serpents so deadly, but that, if application be made in due time, a sufficient remedy may be had for it. But though we allow all this, let us observe,

II. That as Moses represents that the serpents, which bit the Israelites, had caused a great mortality⁴; so the heathen writers concur in testifying, that the desarts, wherein the Israelites journeyed, produced serpents of so venomous a kind, that their biting was deadly, beyond the power of any art then known to cure it. The ancients observed, in general, that the most barren and sandy desarts had the greatest number, and most venomous of serpents. Diodorus makes this remark more particularly concerning the sands of Africa⁵; but it

² Pausan. in Bœotic. c. 28.

⁴ Numb. xxi, 6.

³ Diodor. l. iii, p. 119.

⁵ Diodor. lib. iii, p. 128.

was equally true of the wilderness wherein the Israelites journeyed. Serpents and scorpions were here, according to Moses, as natural as drought and want of water⁶. And Strabo's observation agrees with Moses⁷; and both Strabo and Diodorus concur that the serpents, which were so numerous here, were of the most deadly kind, and that there was no cure for their biting⁸. Some writers have supposed that the serpents, which bit the Israelites, had been of the flying kind. Herodotus informs us, that Arabia produced this sort⁹; and the time of year, in which the Israelites were under this calamity, was in this season, when these serpents are upon¹ the wing, and visit the neighbouring and adjacent countries; so that these might at this time fly into the camp of the Israelites in great numbers. But Moses does not hint that they had been flying serpents, he calls them *ha nechashim haserapim*²; had he meant flying serpents, he would have said, *nachashim serapim menopepim*; for they are so described, where they are mentioned in the Scriptures³. Strabo has taken notice of a kind of serpents produced in or near the parts where the Israelites

⁶ Deut. viii, 15.

⁷ ... πολλοὺ το τῶν ἐρπετῶν ἐν αὐταῖς πληθὺς. Strab. Geog. l. xvi, p. 759.

⁸ Strab. l. xvi; Diodor. l. iii.

⁹ Herodot. l. iii, c. 109.

¹ Λογος δε εστι αμα τω εαρι πτερωτους οφεις εκ της Αραβιης πετεσθαι. Id. l. ii, c. 75.

² Numb. xxi, 5.

³ See Isaiah xiv, 19; xxx, 6.

journeyed, which might be called fiery from their colour⁴, and both he and Diodorus were of opinion, that the bites of these were incurable⁵; of which sort probably were those which assaulted the Israelites. But whether we can fix this point is not very material; it is enough for our purpose, that from what has been offered it may be observed, that after all the knowledge which the heathens had of cures and enchantments for the bites of serpents, yet they would not have judged any of their arts sufficient to have recovered the Israelites, whose malady was occasioned by a sort of serpents, against whose venom they had no remedy. But,

III. Let us see what charms the heathens pretended to have to cure the bite of serpents. The profane writers indeed celebrate the Marsi, a people in Italy⁶, the Psylli in Africa⁷, and the Ophiogenes in Lesser Asia⁸, as very eminent for their abilities against the poison of serpents, and they give us many wonderful stories about each of them. But we may remark upon their performances, as Strabo does upon Alexander's curing the wounds of Ptolemy⁹; and it will appear, that the persons

⁴ Οφεις φοινικαι την χρσαν. Strab. Geog. l. xvi, p. 778.

⁵ Το δηγμα εχοντες ανηκεσον. Strabo, ibid. Diodorus says, Δηγματα ποιουνται παντεως ανιατα. Hist. lib. iii, p. 126.

⁶ Virg. Æn. vii, v. 750; Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vii, c. 2.

⁷ Plin. ibid.; Pausan. in Bæotic.; Strab. Geog. lib. xiii.

⁸ Strabo, lib. xiii; Plin. ubi sup.

⁹ τρωθεντα δε Πτολεμαιον κινδυνευειν· εν υπνω δε πα-
ρασαντα τινα τω Αλεξανδρω, δειξαι ριζαν και χρησασθαι
. . . . ιδοντας δε τες βαρβαρους ευρημενον το αλεξιγμα, υπηκουσ

of whom we have such marvellous accounts, were perhaps possessed of some physical recipes for the venom of serpents, and that the mythologists, as was their usual way, invented fables to raise their fame, instead of recording their skill in a true narration. It is remarkable, that the persons above-mentioned are acknowledged by those who speak most fabulously of their art, as having used external and medicinal applications. The Psylli began the cure by anointing the wound with their spittle¹, which was thought no mean medicine both by Varro and Pliny²; and it might have more effect than we may be apt to think, if the artists who applied it had prepared their mouths by chewing such herbs as they thought proper to use upon the occasion. If this application did not answer, then they endeavoured to suck out the poison³. It may be said, these were but poor attempts for the cure of so dangerous a malady. I answer, the knowledge and use of physic was not carried to great perfection in these ages. Pliny has given us above a hundred different remedies for the venom of serpents⁴; most, perhaps all of them, would be now thought to be but trifling prescriptions, and yet,

γενεσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ. Εἰκος δὲ τινὰ μὴνυσσαι τῶν εἰδοτῶν· τὸ δὲ μυσθῶδες πρόστετθῆναι κολακείας χάριν. Strabo, lib. xv, p. 723.

¹ Lucan. Pharsal. l. ix.

² Plin. Nat. Hist. l. vii, c. 2.

³ Lucan. ubi sup. We are told by some of our English historians, that queen Eleanor sucked the poison out of the wound which a Saracen had given to Edward the First with a poisoned knife.

⁴ Plin. Nat. Hist. in var. loc.

probably, twenty of the meanest of them would have raised any person to the reputation of an extraordinary magician in the days of the Marsi, Psylli, and Ophiogenes. Pausanias had no very high opinion of the powers of the Psylli; for he seems to doubt whether they could cure the bite of a serpent, unless the serpent before its biting had accidentally eaten some food, which might abate its venom⁵. However, these men had their medicines, which sometimes proved successful; and their skill, though it would not have gained them the title of good surgeons in an age of more experience, was enough, in the times when they lived, to convey them down to the fabulous writers, as more than mortal. And these writers, fond of the marvellous, were apt to omit relating every thing in their practice, which did not appear surprising, and to give us that part only, which might look like magic and enchantment. The philosophy of these times led those, who thought themselves most rational, into many superstitions⁶; and the practitioners of medicine thought it necessary to use some rites to gain a favourable influence of the planetary powers upon their endeavours, and to put the mind of the patient into a harmonious temper for their operations having success upon him. Hence music was thought to have its use at the time of their giving medicine, and sometimes

⁵ Pausan. in Bæotic, c. 28.

⁶ See Vol. ii, b. ix.

proper words were muttered⁷; for words duly compounded were thought to have great power⁸, in charming the elements to favour the cure. And what they did of this sort, appearing more prodigious than their applications of the juices of herbs and other medicaments, the fabulous writers omit to speak of the latter, but mention at large their other performances, and lay great stress upon them. Thus the Indians were said to have itinerant enchanters, who were thought to cure the bites of serpents by their singing⁹; but Strabo remarks, that what they did was almost the only practice of physic in use in India in their days¹; so that I imagine they used medicines as well as music. Upon the whole, all the accounts we have of the heathen cures of the malady we are treating of, carry, if duly considered, the appearance of as much medicinal art as these ages were acquainted with; and they have no farther show of magic and incantation, than what the philosophy of these times, and the true religion built upon such philosophy, taught the learned to think necessary to give medicine its due and natural effect upon the body. And whoever will judiciously consider the whole of what the profane writers offer upon this

⁷ — Par lingua potentibus herbis.

Plurima tum volvit spumanti carmina lingua.

⁸ See vol. ii, b. ix.

⁹ Επωδὸς περιφοίταν πεπιστευμένους ἰασθαι. Strab. Geog. lib. xv.

¹ Καὶ εἶναι σχεδὸν τὴ μόνην ταύτην ἰατρικὴν. Id. *ibid.*

topic, may abundantly see, that none of the heathen magicians would have admitted that a brazen serpent set up, as Moses set up that in the wilderness, could possibly have had any effect towards curing the people.

IV. But let us consider whether the texts of Scripture, cited by Sir John Marsham, do indeed support the points for which he cites them. He remarks, that David mentions, *the deaf adder, that stoppeth her ear, which will not hearken to the voice of the charmers, charming never so wisely*²; and that Solomon hints at *a serpent which would bite without enchantment*³; and that Jeremiah speaks of *cockatrices and serpents which will not be charmed*⁴. From whence he insinuates, that the sacred writers were sensible that charms were a sufficient cure for the bite of some serpents; though there were others, whose poison was not to be controlled by their influence. I answer, two of these texts, if duly examined, are very foreign to Sir John Marsham's purpose; for there is nothing of charming or enchantment suggested in them. The words of David, Psal. lviii, truly translated, are⁵,

² Psalm lviii, 4, 5.

³ Eccles. x, 8.

⁴ Jer. viii, 17.

⁵ The Hebrew text, Psal. lviii, 4, 5, is in these words:—

10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
מלחשים	לקול	לא-ישמע	אשר	אונר	יאתם	חרש	כמו-פתח		
						13	12	11	
						חוכם	חברים	חוכר	

i. e.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Sicut	aspis	surda	obturabit	aurem	suam,	quæ	non
9	10	11	12	13			
voci	eloquentium	connectenti	connexiones	sapientii.			

as the deaf adder will not attend to the voice of the eloquent⁶, putting together the sayings⁷ of the wise. David had no thought of charms or enchantments; but in a noble expression represents that wicked men are deaf to the best instructions offered to them in the most engaging manner. We have an English proverb, which in some measure expresses the import of David's words, though not with such a dignity of diction. When good advice is given, but not attended to, we compare it to *a song sung to a horse*. A horse or an adder are not to be moved by the wisest intimations; wicked and dissolute men are, morally speaking, like these animals; the best things that can be said are lost upon them; which is what David very elegantly represents, without any view or hint of the possibility of charming any serpent whatsoever. In like manner, nothing can be concluded to Sir John Marsham's purpose from the words of the preacher. We translate the verse, *surely a ser-*

⁶ The word לֹחֵשׁ may sometimes be used to mutter as enchanters did. It is a word not often used in Scripture; but it has not always this magic meaning. In 2 Samuel xii, 19, it signifies, *to whisper*, without any reference to sorcery or enchantment. In Isaiah iii, 3, נִבֵּן לֹחֵשׁ is translated, *the eloquent orator*. *Eloquii peritum*, in the interlinear translation of the Hebrew. Prudent in giving counsel, says Jonathan in his Targum, and so it is rendered in the Syriac version. And thus I take the word in the passage before us, to signify, those who offer what they have to say, in the best, softest, and most engaging manner.

⁷ חֲבֵרִים *Connexiones*, in Quintilian's sense of the word: *the conclusions of the wise*.

pent will bite without enchantment, and a babbler is no better. But the Hebrew words, truly rendered, would be thus : *a serpent will bite without any warning, and a babbler* (or one that loves to prate) *is no better*³. The word *lachash* is here used as in 2 Samuel xii, 19, and the expression, *be loa lachash*, is *without a whisper*; i. e. without the least noise or intimation, *in silentio*, says the vulgar Latin; the LXX, ἐν ἡσυχασμῳ, *without a whisper*; the Targum, *in taciturnitate, silently*. The sacred writer hints, beautifully, that a prater wounds you before you can be aware of him; and we entirely lose his sentiment, if we take the verse to hint what Sir John Marsham would infer from it. The last text cited by our learned author is Jeremiah viii, 17. The Prophet threatens the Israelites with *serpents, cockatrices which will not be charmed*. It is evident to any one who considers the context, that the Prophet here uses an allegory, and does not mean that the Israelites should be infested with serpents, but that God would bring upon them the armies of their enemies, and calamities, against which they should find no remedy. However, since the allegory may be said to be founded upon the sentiment of the speaker, and the Prophet from his using the expression of

³ The Hebrew words, Eccles. x, 11, are,

	2	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
	הַלָּשׁוֹן	לִבְעַל	יִתְרוֹן	וְאִין	לַחֹשׁ	בְּלֹא	הַנְּחָשׁ	יֶשֶׁךְ	אִם
	1	2	3	3	4	5	6	7	

i. e. Si mordeat serpens sine susurro: et non præstantia
⁸ ⁹
 adamantis linguam, or non melior est, qui adamat loqui.

serpents *that will not be charmed*, to signify irremediable calamities, may be argued to have thought some serpents capable of being charmed, as some calamities may have a cure; I would enter a little more exactly into his sentiment and expression. In order hereto let us observe, 1. That the Hebrews applied to no physicians in the most early times, but when under any malady⁹ they sought unto God for a cure. 2. There was an art of physic known both to Jews and heathens before the days of Jeremiah¹. 3. The heathens had introduced into their practice of it, such rites as their learning and religion dictated; which rites were the charms, magic, and incantation they made use of². They were charms of no real influence, nor truly productive of any supernatural effect; but they were thought significant by the learned of these ages, who built upon the rudiments of a vain and mistaken philosophy. 4. The Jews were not so careful in adhering strictly to the true God, and to his religion, but that in many things they frequently admitted the practice of the heathen superstitions, and learned their ways; and as Asa, when sick, almost three hundred years before the days of Jeremiah, sinned in this manner by applying to the physicians³; so very probably in the Prophet's

⁹ See vol. ii, b. ix.

¹ See 2 Chron. xvi, 12.

² This their method for the cure of the bites of serpents abundantly suggests to us.

³ 2 Chron. xvi, 12.

days much of the heathen physic might, in the corrupted state they were then in, be admitted and admired among them. But this is not all; in the days of Jeremiah the Jews were greatly corrupted, in both their religion and politics. They had departed far from God⁴; walked after vanity, were become vain⁵; and set up idols as numerous as their cities⁶. They had *changed their glory for that which could not profit them*⁷; *turned their back upon GOD*⁸; *burned incense unto Baal*⁹; *kneaded their dough to make cakes unto the queen of heaven*; and to pour out drink offerings unto other gods¹: and now distress was coming upon them, and a dread and fear of being ruined, sometimes from the armies of the kings of Assyria, at other times from the invasions of the kings of Egypt; they thought to be preserved under the protection of their false gods, by a vain policy, in confederating with one or other of these powers, as circumstances might require, in order to be supported by one or the other of them. And to this end, before Jeremiah applied to them, they had made a league with the king of Assyria, and had suffered by it, and been ashamed of it². At the time of his address to them, they were in alliance with Egypt³; but of this the Prophet tells them

⁴ Jer. ii, 5.⁵ Ibid.⁶ Ver. 28.⁷ Ver. 11.⁸ Ver. 27.⁹ Ch. vii, 9.¹ Ver. 18.² Jer. ii, 36; see Prideaux's Connection, vol. i, b. i.³ Id. *ibid.*

they would in a little time be ashamed also⁴; for that GOD had *rejected their confidences*, and that they should not *prosper in them*⁵. The design of Jeremiah was to set before the Jews, that *in the LORD* their GOD was the only true *salvation of Israel*⁶; that from all other helps they hoped for it but in vain; that destruction upon destruction would come upon them⁷: a nation from far be brought against them⁸; and that, if they did not amend their ways and their doings⁹, turn from their wickedness and idolatry, they should find, that they put their trust in lying words, which could not profit¹, and that the evils which were coming upon them, would be as *serpents, cockatrices, which could not be charmed*; i. e. would be calamities really fatal, not to be remedied by the trifling and insignificant amusements, on which they so much depended. This is the argument and reasoning of the Prophet, which, if duly attended to, is so far from ascribing any true efficacy to charms and enchantments, that it strongly intimates they are *a doctrine of vanities*². Jeremiah compares charms and enchantments, and the false confidences of the Israelites, with each other; and thereby declares his opinion of both to be, that they were insignificant and vain. In cases of no certain danger, those who were to be deceived with vain and ima-

⁴ Jerem. ii, 36.

⁶ Ch. iii, 23.

⁸ Ch. v, 15.

¹ Ver. 8.

⁵ Ver. 37.

⁷ Ch. iv, 20.

⁸ Ch. vii, 3—15.

² Ch. x, 8.

ginary expectations, might amuse themselves, and think they received benefit from them; but where the evil was real, and truly wanted a redress, there they would be found not able to profit, there no help was found to be had from them.

I have now considered to the bottom what Sir John Marsham intimates concerning the brazen serpent; and hope it must be evident, that there are no foundations for his suggestions; but that every sober querist must see reason to consider both the calamity that was inflicted upon the Israelites, and the miraculous cure of it, in the light in which the author of the Book of Wisdom long ago set it. *They, i. e. the Israelites, were troubled, says he, for a small season, that they might be admonished, having a sign of salvation, to put them in remembrance of the commandment of thy law. For he that turned himself towards it, was not saved by the thing that he saw, but by thee, who art the Saviour of all*³. The Israelites were unmindful of the obedience which they owed to GOD; unwilling to march where GOD directed them. Hereupon they were punished, to bring them to a better mind, and their punishment was in a little time removed in a miraculous manner. They were commanded to come and look up to a brazen serpent, a thing evidently of itself of no importance; but by GOD's power and good pleasure made so effectual to their recovery, as abundantly to remind

³ Wisdom, xvi, 6, 7:

them, that whatever GOD should think fit to command, was importantly necessary to be performed by them.

Moses omits, in the xxist chapter of Numbers, two encampments of the Israelites; one at Zalmonah, the other at Punon; which are both mentioned in chap. xxxiii. The brazen serpent was set up at Punon; for after they were cured, they moved forwards to Oboth⁴, and thence to Ijeabarim on the border of the land of Moab⁵. They were warned not to attack the Moabites, and therefore did not enter their country, but marched forward on their borders into the valley of Zared, and pitched there at a place which they called Dibon-Gad⁶. From thence they marched to the river Arnon, which divides the land of Moab from the country of the Amorites⁷. They passed over this river, and pitched in the wilderness of the Amorites at Almondiblathaim⁸. From hence they removed to the mountains of Abarim before Nebo⁹. They made several encampments here, one at Beer, where they dug a well¹, another at Mattanah², a third at Nahaliel³, a fourth at Ramoth⁴, and the last at Pisgah⁵. These were the several encampments from Kadesh to Pisgah; and by fixing them thus, we may perfectly reconcile the seeming dif-

⁴ Numb. xxi, 10.

⁵ Ver. 11; xxxiii, 44.

⁶ Deut. ii, 9; Numb. xxi, 12; xxxiii, 45.

⁷ Ch. xxi, 13.

⁸ Ibid; and xxxiii, 46.

⁹ Ver. 47.

¹ Ch. xxi, 16.

² Ver. 18.

³ Ver. 19.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ver. 20.

ferences between the xxist chapter of Numbers, ver. 11, 12, 13, 18, 19, 20, and the xxxiiid chapter, ver. 44, 45, 46, 47.

From the camp at Pisgah, Moses sent to Sihon, king of the Amorites, to ask leave to pass through his country⁶; but Sihon was so far from being willing to permit them to march farther into his kingdom, that he determined to oblige them to quit it entirely. He therefore summoned together his forces, met the Israelites at Jahaz⁷, and gave them battle, but was routed by them⁸. The Israelites pursued their victory, and forced Sihon out of all that country, from the river Arnon unto Jabbok⁹. This tract of land had formerly been the Moabites', until Sihon conquered it¹; now the Israelites came into possession of it. The several victories which the Israelites obtained in the land of the Amorites², were gotten by detachments from their main body; for the camp continued at Pisgah, until they removed to the plains of Moab³. But they sent out select companies, such as they afterwards chose to fight the Midianites⁴; for the whole camp was too great to move after every expedition. By these they reduced this whole country, and after this they conquered and took possession of the kingdom of Bashan⁵; and then Moses removed the whole

⁶ Numb. xxi, 21.

⁷ Ver. 23.

⁸ Ver. 24.

⁹ Ibid.

¹ Ver. 26—29.

² Ver. 25.

³ Ch. xxii, 1; xxxiii, 43.

⁴ Ch. xxxi, 3, 4, &c.

⁵ Ch. xxi, 33—35.

camp, and pitched in the plains of Moab, near the banks of Jordan, over-against Jericho⁶. So large a body as the camp of the Israelites took up a considerable tract of the country, and reached from Beth-jesimuth unto Abel-shittim⁷.

Balak the son of Zippor was king of Moab at this time: and was much alarmed at the march of the Israelites. And his people had great fears upon their account⁸; for which reason he sent an embassy to the elders of Midian, and represented the common danger they were all in, and agreed with them to send to Balaam the son of Beor, a prophet, whose fame probably had been much talked of, to know if he could so curse this people, as that they might attack and destroy them⁹. Balaam's country was far distant from the land of Moab. He came from the eastern parts of Syria¹. He lived at Pethor, near Euphrates²; for he was of Mesopotamia³. The ambassadors of the king of Moab, together with the elders of Midian, came hither to him, and delivered their message. Balaam required them to stay all night, until he should inquire of GOD what answer to give them. In the morning he acquainted them, that GOD

⁶ Numb. xxii, 1; xxxiii, 49.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ch. xxii, 2, 3, 4.

⁹ Ver. 4, 5, 6.

¹ He came from Aram out of the mountains of the east. Numbers xxiii, 7; Aram is Syria; see vol. i, b. iii, p. 144.

² Numb. xxii, 5.—The river Euphrates might be called the river of his land. Mesopotamia from this and the river Tigris is denominated Aram Naharaim. See vol. i, b. iii, p. 144.

³ Deut. xxiii, 4.

would not give him leave to go with them⁴. Upon the ambassadors reporting this to Balak, he thought he had not made the Prophet sufficient offers to induce him to take so long a journey; and therefore sent again by persons of higher rank, and offered him any advancement in his kingdom⁵. But the Prophet answered, that no temptation should prevail upon him to do any thing, but what GOD should direct; therefore he required them to stay all night, until he should again consult God, and know what answer to give them⁶. Upon this his second inquiry, GOD gave him leave to go, if the men came in the morning to call him⁷; but strictly charged him, if he went, to say nothing but what he should direct⁸. The offers of Balak had made impression upon Balaam, who grew fond of the journey and of the prospects of it; and in the morning he stayed not to be called, but got up early, and saddled his ass⁹, and went with the princes of Moab. This was his fault; the wages which were offered, tempted him¹, and he was greedy after the reward². He did not preserve a due indifference to the journey, but pressed into it with a covetous or ambitious heart: and God's anger was kindled at his going in this manner³. The commentators do not, I think, clearly deter-

⁴ Numb. xxii, 7—13.

⁵ Ver. 14, 16, 17.

⁶ Ver. 18, 19.

⁷ Ver. 20.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ver. 21.

¹ 2 Peter ii, 15.

² Jude, ver. 11.

³ Numb. xxii, 22.

mine what Balaam's fault was; and our modern deists, with great assurance, ridicule the fact here related. They remark, that his going upon Balak's second message, was by God's express command; and yet that the text says, God's anger was kindled *because he went*⁴. I answer, our translators do indeed thus render the text; but the Hebrew words are clear of this absurdity. The Hebrew text is, *and the anger of God was kindled*, not *כי הלך ci halak*, *because he went*, but *כי הלך הוא ci halak hua*⁵, *because he went of himself*⁶; i. e. without staying for Balak's messengers to come in the morning to call him. He had no leave to go at all, unless the messengers came in the morning again to him⁷; and, perhaps, if he had not thus gone to them, after having promised them an answer, they might have thought their master's great offers neglected, and have gone away without him. But his head and heart were too full of expectations from the journey, to run the hazard of not being farther invited into it; and so he rose early in the morning, and went to them, directly contrary to God's express order⁸, and was opposed by the angel for this breach of his duty⁹. What follows in Moses's narration has appeared to many writers a great difficulty. Philo seems to have thought, that Ba-

⁴ Numb. xxii, 22.

⁵ Our Hebrew Bibles have the place, *כי הולך הוא*, but the Samaritan text is, I think, more accurate.

⁶ See b. xi, p. 120.

⁷ Numb. xxii, 20.

⁸ Ibid; and ver. 21.

⁹ Ver. 22, 32.

laam's ass did not really speak to him; for he gives a large account of all Balaam's proceedings, but is absolutely silent as to this particular¹. The Jewish Rabbins represent Balaam as having heard and answered what the ass is related to have said to him, in a trance or vision²; and our modern naturalists are very free in their remarks upon the fact as related by Moses. 1. But an inspired writer, in the New Testament, assures us, that it was real fact as Moses relates it. Moses says, that the LORD *opened the mouth of the ass, and she said unto Balaam*³; and St. Peter tells us, *the dumb ass, speaking with man's voice, forbade the madness of the Prophet*⁴. 2. It is a fact in no wise impossible; some writers represent, that the very nature of the ass must have been changed, to make her capable of what is related. They argue, that not only a power of speaking must have been given to her, but that her mind also must have been enlarged, to enable her, first to know an angel, when she saw one, and in the next place to recollect backward, how she had carried her master until that time, and to remonstrate this, so as to suggest to him, that if something extraordinary had not happened, she had undoubtedly still carried him in the same manner⁵. The brute creatures are not conceived to have these powers of reasoning; they

¹ Philo Jud. de vit. Mosis. lib. i, p. 643.

² Maimonid. More Nevoch. part ii, c. 42.

³ Numb. xxii, 28.

⁴ 2 Pet. ii, 16.

⁵ Numb. xxii, 28, 29, 30.

do not pursue, connect, and compare their ideas in this regular manner. Had Balaam's ass not been endued with a greater compass of reason than creatures of this species ordinarily have, she would not have spoken what Moses relates, even though the power of speech had been miraculously given to her. She might have represented, that she was affrighted, but she would not have connected and compared her former services with her present mis-carriage. But to this I answer, Moses does not say, that the ass knew an angel; an angel appeared to her in the way with a drawn sword to oppose their passage. She endeavoured to avoid him when she could, and when she could not, she fell down. She might have done the same, if a man had opposed them in the same manner. Or the appearance of the angel might very much affright her, without her knowing it to be an angel. As to her reasoning above the capacity of a brute animal, and speaking the result of such reasoning, God undoubtedly could, if he had pleased, have instantly capacitated any of the inferior creatures for this, or for much greater things. But even this does not appear to have been done. A human voice came out of the mouth of the ass⁶; but I do not apprehend, that what the voice uttered proceeded from her sentiments; it was rather what God would have to be uttered to rebuke the Prophet. The tongue of the ass was miraculously

⁶ 2 Pet. ii, 16.

moved, not by any natural power of her's so to move it; and it spake what it was moved to utter, without any connexion of the words spoken with the sentiments of the ass, and without her understanding the words which she uttered upon this occasion. This seems to me to have been the fact, and herein there is a real miracle; but no appearance of the absurdity, which is pretended. I would consider, 3. That the miracle of the ass's speaking was not superfluous and unnecessary; but very pertinent and suitable to the design which God intended to promote by it. It is thought by some, that this miracle might well have been spared; that the angel's appearing was abundantly sufficient to have recalled Balaam to his duty; that he was not much moved by the ass's speaking⁷, it was the seeing the angel that affected him⁸. And they say, why should God cause so unusual a miracle, as a dumb creature's speaking to so little purpose, and so little wanted? I answer; Balaam was, perhaps, much surprised at the ass's speaking, though Moses has not reported it to us. The ancient Jewish writers imagine he was so; and accordingly Josephus represents that he had been greatly astonished at it⁹. But Moses's narration is short, and concise; and he may have omitted this and other particulars of Balaam's story which were not of great moment to be told. For, what if the heat

⁷ Numb. xxii, 29.

⁸ Ver. 34.

⁹ Joseph. Antiq. lib. iv, c. 3.

and obstinate bent of Balaam's temper caused him not to pay due regard to this miracle; shall the miracle be therefore argued to be in itself insignificant, because he did not suffer it to have its due effect upon him? Many miracles were wrought in Egypt, to which Pharaoh paid little regard; but we cannot censure them as extravagant or superfluous, because Pharaoh did not apply his heart duly to consider them¹. Any one of them might have been of great service to him, if he would have made them so; which justifies the wisdom and goodness of God, in causing them to be wrought before him. This may be remarked in the case of Balaam; God did not design to permit a war between the Israelites and Moabites at this time. He had warned the Israelites not to distress or war against them²; and he would not suffer Balaam to curse the Israelites, because the Moabites would have paid so great regard to what he had promised, that they would thereupon have attacked them, in hopes of being able to *overcome and drive them out*³ of the neighbouring country. God, indeed, if he pleased, could have over-ruled Balaam's heart, and disposed him for his duty, without the appearance of any miracle, or have caused any one miracle to have been as effectual as ten thousand; but he dealt with Balaam as with a free agent. He did not take away his liberty, but set before him very considerable motives to induce him to make a

¹ Exodus, vii, 23.² Deut. ii, 9.³ Numb. xxii, 11.

right and virtuous use of it. If we consider the whole process of this affair, we shall not see reason to judge any part of what GOD was here pleased to do, as being superfluous or extravagant; but must allow, that in every particular, GOD was exceedingly merciful unto Balaam, though the corruption of his heart was very great. When he was first sent for by Balak, and inquired whether he should go, GOD did not lead him into a temptation too hard for him⁴. Upon the second inquiry, *a way* was still made for him *to escape*⁵; for had he not gone until he had been called in the morning⁶, probably Balak's high and more honourable messengers⁷ would not have been so attendant upon what they might have thought his humour; but would have gone away without him. But he would go, and went with a corrupt heart, not likely to be duly mindful of the charge which GOD had given him⁸; but liable to be tempted to gratify the king, in order to obtain the advancement which was offered him⁹. Hereupon GOD was pleased to correct his intention by two miracles; by one of which he evidenced to him, that he could so control him, that it should not really be in his power to falsify, if he would, what GOD had designed to

⁴ Numb. xxii, 12.

⁵ Ver. 20.

⁶ Ver. 21.

⁷ Ver. 15.

⁸ Balaam's heart was known unto GOD, and he intended not to be strictly careful to speak only what GOD should direct, and therefore this point was given again in charge to him, ver. 35.

⁹ Numb. xxii, 17.

direct him to say. By the other, he threatened him not to attempt it upon pain of death. The ass he rode on was made to speak to him : a convincing demonstration, that it would be a vain thing in him to endeavour to speak otherwise than God should order him ; since the same power, which here caused even a dumb animal to move its tongue very differently from what it was naturally capable of, could certainly over-rule even his tongue, and make him say just what, and no more than what was dictated to him, whether he was willing, or designed to speak it or not. Some writers, Philo in particular¹, and Josephus², represent Balaam as actually over-ruled in the use of his tongue, when he blessed the Israelites ; and that he would have cursed instead of blessing them, if he could have made his tongue speak what he designed. But I see no reason to go into this opinion : God abundantly apprized Balaam by the miracle of the ass's speaking, that he could thus over-rule him, if he pleased ; but I believe he still left him the liberty of a free agent, after having assured him by the angel, that, if he abused his liberty in this particular, he would destroy him. And, I think, both these miracles appear to have affected the Prophet. He seemed after this to bear in mind a due sense of his inability to speak otherwise than God should permit³; and though

¹ Phil. Jud. lib. i, de vit. Mosis.

Joseph. Antiq. lib. iv, c. 5.

³ Numb. xxii, 38 ; xxiii, 26.

he used endeavours, and had it at heart, if he could any ways do it, to gratify Balak⁴; yet at last he did not dare to venture, but told the king, without reserve, all that God, and nothing but what God had been pleased to reveal to him⁵. 4. But though the miracle of the ass's speaking was not superfluous, and insignificant to Balaam; yet if it had not been a real fact, Moses could have no inducement to relate it, nor any purpose to serve by it. The Israelites would have appeared under the special protection of God's providence as well without it. And Moses, as a wise and prudent man, if he had no other restraint, would not have invented such an unheard-of, needless prodigy; for it would have been to no purpose, if it had been his invention, because he could have no scheme or end to serve by it.

Balaam's behaviour after he came to Balak; how he endeavoured to find enchantments to curse the Israelites, but could not succeed in them; and therefore instead of cursing them, blessed them three times, and gave thereby great offence to Balak; what he prophesied to Balak, and how Balak dismissed him, are points related at large in the **xxiii**d and **xxiv**th chapters of Numbers. And I may add what may be remarked upon them, if I inquire who Balaam was, and what character we ought to give him. I have before mentioned where he lived, when Balak sent to him. It does

⁴ Numb. **xxiii**, 23; **xxiv**, 1.

⁵ Ch. **xxxiii**, 3—9, 17—24.

not seem as if he lived there in great circumstances of wealth and dignity; for if he had been in so easy a situation, Balak's offers of advancement would not have been so tempting to him. Or, when he could not obtain the advancement which had been proposed to him, he would have returned home again, and not have thought it worth his while to have stayed in Midian. But when Balak dismissed him, he behaved like a man in narrow circumstances, and of an ambitious spirit; was willing to ingratiate himself with the Midianites, and gave them the most wicked advice to ensnare the Israelites into ruin⁶; and was found and slain in this country, when the Israelites warred against it⁷. Pethor, in Mesopotamia, was most probably situate near or in Chaldea, under the government of the kings of Assyria; and as these nations had been long infected with idolatry⁸, and were under a government which established and supported the idolatrous worship, it is not probable that Balaam, if he was a prophet of the true God, could have any prospects of advancement in his own country. The ancestors of Abraham and his family were expelled this land for worshipping the God of heaven⁹; and if Balaam pursued the worship of this true God, whatever reputation he might have as to his private character, no public advantages in his own country were likely to accrue to

⁶ Numb. xxxi, 16; Rev. ii, 14.

⁷ Numb. xxxi, 8.

⁸ See vol. i, b. v.

⁹ Josh. xxiv, 2; Judith, v, 6 7, 8.

him from it; which might make him so desirous to accept an invitation into another land.

It is disputed by some, whether Balaam was indeed a prophet and a worshipper of the true God. They suppose that he was a mere magician or enchanter; one who prophesied by the rules of vaticination in use in these days among the worshippers of false gods. If this opinion be true, then the revelations, which were made to him from the true God, must have been made to him in a manner to which he had not been accustomed, and beyond his expectation; in like manner as the Egyptian magicians were enabled to work real miracles¹. But I think this notion of Balaam is not consistent with what Moses relates concerning him. When the messengers of Balak came first to him, he immediately applied to God for direction²; and the God he applied to was not Baal, nor any of the gods of the idolatrous nations, but JEHOVAH³; the true and living God was his God. And he does not appear to have been at any time surprised at the answers which God was pleased to give him; or at the angels appearing to him; or at the word of prophecy put into his mouth⁴; being well apprized of and acquainted with God's communicating his will to his servants in these several ways. The only dubious appearance in his behaviour is, his having sought for

¹ See vol. ii, b. ix.

² Numb. xxii, 8.

³ Ibid. ver. 8, 13, 18, 19, &c.

⁴ Ibid. 9, 10, 12, 20, 31, 34; xxiii, 4, 5, 16.

or chantments⁵. If he was a prophet and servant of the true God, why should he seek for enchantments? or what service could he think to receive from them? I answer; the arts of magicians, and their enchantments to procure prodigies and oracles, though the vulgar people did not understand the foundation on which they were built, were to the wise men and philosophers the produce of learning and natural science; falsely indeed so called, but really esteemed by them to be true⁶. And as Moses was *learned in all the learning of the Egyptians*⁷, though he did not practise any of the arts, which were the basis and support of false religion⁸; so Balaam, though he had hitherto virtuously adhered to the true God, might, as a learned man, not be entirely a stranger to the theory of what human science and the then reputed natural knowledge had advanced upon these subjects. And as Saul, though he had before *put away those that had familiar spirits, and the wizards out of the land*⁹; was yet induced, *when the LORD answered him not, neither by dreams, nor by Urim, nor by prophets, to go to a woman that had a familiar spirit, and inquire of her*¹; so Balaam, finding nothing but a full disappointment of all his views, in the several revelations which God was pleased to make to him, and being warmly inclined to purchase, if he might with any colour be able to do it, the advancement which Balak had

⁵ Numb. xxiv, 1.

⁷ Acts, vii, 22.

⁹ 1 Sam. xxviii, 3.

⁶ See vol. ii, book ix.

⁸ See vol. ii, book ix.

¹ Ver. 6, 7.

offered him, was tempted to try what might be the event, if he used some of the arts which the most learned nations held in the highest repute, and esteemed to be of the greatest efficacy². He tried, but found *no enchantment against Jacob, nor any divination against Israel*³. What particular arts he used, or upon what rules of science he proceeded, I cannot say; for Moses has not told us. But if his building seven altars was, as I have supposed, one of his artifices⁴, it will hint that he had copied after the Egyptian theology. For, as they worshipped at this time the lights of heaven, so they first imagined the seven days of the week to be under the respective influences of seven of these luminaries⁵. The Chaldeans are thought to have come into this doctrine next after the Egyptians⁶; other nations did not admit it so early⁷. Belus, the son of Neptune, had obtained leave for himself and some Egyptian priests to make a settlement at Babylon about half a century before Balak sent for Balaam⁸. Belus and his followers taught the Chaldeans their astronomy, and probably intro-

² They imagined that oracles and prodigies might be procured by these arts, sine Deo. See vol. ii, book ix.

³ Numb. xxiii, 23.

⁴ Vol. ii, b. ix.

⁵ Καὶ ταδε αλλα Αιγυπτίοισι ἐστὶ ἐξευρημένα· μεις τε καὶ ἡμερὴ ἐκάστη θεωρῶμεν ὅτι ἐστὶ. Herodot. l. ii, c. 82. Dio Cassius dicit, Dispositionem dierum ad septem planetas inventum fuisse Egyptiorum. Philastrius Brixienensis expresse asserit, Hermen definivisse secundum septem stellas hominum generationem consistere. Vid. Marsh. Can. Chron. p. 448.

⁶ Clem. Alex. Stromat. lib. i.

⁷ Marsham, ubi. sup.

⁸ See vol. ii, b. viii, p. 219.

duced this Egyptian notion of the influence of the seven ruling stars, which might now be the reigning doctrine in Balaam's time; and he, not being a stranger to the learning of the age and country he lived in, might know enough of it to make a show before Balak of proceeding to his auguries by the rules of it⁹. And if the sacrifices of Balak had been attended with any such circumstances as those, upon inspection of which the idolatrous prophets formed their divinations, I question not but Balaam had a disposition to take occasion to speak from them. But the providence of God seems not to have permitted him to have a possibility of being mistaken. If he would have cursed the Israelites, he must have done it, and at the same time have had a full sense that they were blessed, without any room for doubt or suspicion that it could be otherwise; and he was not hardy enough to be guilty of such an abandoned prostitution; but upon offering his third sacrifice he gave over. *He went not as at other times to seek for enchantments*¹.

⁹ Some critics have imagined that Balaam built and offered upon seven altars, upon account of the states he offered for being in number seven. The Moabites indeed were under one head, Balak being their king, but the Midianites were under elders; and it is conjectured, that they were divided into seven principalities: but this imagination is entirely groundless. The kings or heads of Midian were five, not seven; Numb. xxxi, 8; and had the number of Balaam's altars been owing to the number of states he sacrificed for, he must have built not seven, but six only, five for the states of Midian, and one for the king of Moab.

¹ Numb. xxiv, 1.

This place I think is not well rendered: the Hebrew words intimate to us, that he did not perform the ceremonies in walking or dancing round the altar, by which the idolaters endeavoured to procure vaticinations²; but he set his face towards the wilderness, and lifting up his eyes, he saw *Israel abiding in his tents according to his tribes; and the Spirit of GOD came upon him*, and he told Balak, without reserve, all that GOD was pleased to reveal to him³. Balak was provoked at what Balaam now delivered to him⁴; for Balaam spake now in a higher strain than ever in favour of the Israelites; but as he had now omitted some ceremonies, which he had before used to give effect to his sacrifices,

² One of the heathen rites made use of to procure success to their sacrifices, was their dancing or moving in set steps backwards and forwards, from side to side, round about their altars. This the priests of Baal did in order to procure fire from heaven in the days of Elijah, 1 Kings xviii, 26. And this ceremony Balaam seems to have performed at each of the preceding sacrifices; at his last sacrifice he gave over. Our translation of the words would induce one to imagine, that his going away from Balak to meet or invoke the LORD, was his going to seek enchantments, but the Hebrew text suggests no such thing. The Hebrew words are,

ולא הלך בפעם בפעם לקראת נחשים

In Latin thus,

Et non ambulavit secundum vicem in vice, &c.

The Greeks afterwards performed these ambulations thus: First, they moved towards the west, turning from the east, singing a sacred hymn: then they returned from the west back to the east again; and such turns or vices as these, I imagine Balaam had practised at Balak's sacrifices before and round the altars.

³ Numb. xxiv, 2—9.

⁴ Ver. 10.

and had not gone aside, as he twice before had done, to meet or invoke GOD, Balak could see no cogent reason for his so speaking. Balaam indeed prefaced what he delivered, with declaring them to be *the words* which he heard from GOD, when he *saw the vision of the ALMIGHTY, falling into a trance, but having his eyes open*⁵. Certainly no such vision was ever seen by Balaam whilst Balak was with him; so that this revelation was made to him when he was alone, probably before he had attended upon Balak's sacrifices; and now upon his giving over all farther thoughts of amusing or gratifying Balak, GOD inspired him to recollect and deliver all that had been revealed to him; and Balak was so offended at his now speaking in so extraordinary a manner in favour of his enemies, because, to his apprehension, nothing had happened to cause his so doing. The prophet however proceeded and advertised him, what Israel should do to his people in after-ages⁶. Balak paid but little regard to what he said, dismissed him with contempt, apprehending that he in no wise answered the character which had been given of him⁷. Hereupon Balaam left him, and went to the Midianites, and formed a project to obtain their favour. He well knew that the prosperity of the Israelites depended upon their continuing to serve the living GOD; therefore he apprized the Midianites,

⁵ Numb. xxiv, 4.

⁶ Ver. 14—24.

⁷ Ver. 11.

that if they could seduce them to idolatry, they might then have hopes of prevailing against them⁸, This was that counsel which Balaam gave the Midianites to cause the children of Israel to commit trespass against the LORD⁹. And it is possible that he might amuse himself with the pretence of even a good view in it; for had it succeeded, and had the children of Israel been ruined by his scheme, why might he not have hoped, after so signal a success, to have had interest and influence enough over the Midianites to have, perhaps, brought them by degrees into the service of his own GOD, and so to have promoted both GOD's glory and his own advancement together. All this might look well in the eye of a politician; but much better had it been for Balaam to have lived at home at Pethor, than to be laying out these projects among the elders of Midian. Had there been any design of Providence to be carried on, by his coming out of private life, GOD both could and would have appointed events, which by natural steps would have raised him to that station, in which he intended he should be useful to the world. And if the Providence of GOD had no employment for him, how could it be worth his while to attempt the ruin of a very numerous people in order to gratify his own ambition? He might have lived at Pethor in peace and quiet, innocence and content; and if he had never been great in the

⁸ See Rev. ii, 14.⁹ Numb. xxxi, 16.

world, he might have died the death of the righteous, and his last end have been like his¹. But he warmly pursued other views, and was drawn away far into a foreign land, where he lost his integrity, and brought himself to an unhappy and untimely end.

Whilst the Israelites were at Shittim, the Moabites became acquainted with them; made them visits in their camp, and invited them to their feasts; and the Israelites fell in love with the daughters of Moab², and an evil communication corrupted their manners, and led them into idolatry³. Many of them went to the Moabites' sacrifices, and partook of them, and joined in the worship⁴. Whereupon the anger of the LORD was kindled against Israel, and he commanded Moses to order the judges to put to death those who had committed this wickedness⁵. The Midianites were instructed by Balaam to draw the Israelites into this evil⁶. They communicated the advice to Balak, and the Moabites joined with them in effecting it. Balaam is said to have *taught Balak to cast a stumbling-block before the children of Israel; to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and to commit fornication*⁷. But we do not read where Balaam gave any counsel of this sort immediately to Balak. It seems more probable, that what he

¹ Numb. xxiii, 10.

² Ver. 2, 3.

³ Ver. 4, 5.

⁷ Rev. ii, 14.

² Chap. xxv, 1.

⁴ Ver. 1.

⁶ Chap. xxxi, 16.

advised was to the Midianites after he left Balak^a; though both nations joined to do what he directed. The one acquainted the other with the scheme he had taught them; and so either or both might, though not immediately, yet truly be said to be taught by him; because both followed his doctrine in what they did in this matter. Whilst the Israelites were under God's displeasure for this wickedness, and a pestilence raged in the camp, Zimri, the son of Salu, brought into his tent Cozbi the daughter of Zur, a prince of Midian, in the sight of all the congregation; but Phinehas the son of Eleazar the son of Aaron, took a javelin and went after them, and slew them both^b. At their deaths the plague stayed, after four and twenty thousand had died of it^c.

There may be several doubts raised about this act of Phinehas: it may be thought a very rash, irregular, and unjustifiable procedure. Zimri was a prince of a chief house among the Simeonites, say our translators: the Hebrew text styles him, *prince of the house of his father Simeon*^d. He was, perhaps, the head of that tribe^e, and not accountable to Phinehas for his behaviour; how then could

^a See Numb. xxxi, 16.

^b Chap. xxv, 6—8.

^c Ver. 9.

^d The Hebrew words, Numb. xxv, 14, are,

ומרו בן סלוא נשיא בית—אב לשמעוני

sui Simeonis patris domus princeps Salua filius Zimri.

^e See Numb. i, 4, 16. In this sense Josephus took the words. He styles him Ζαμβριας ὁ τῆς Συμειωνίδος φυλῆς ἡγούμενος. Antiq. lib. iv, c. 6, sec. 10.

Phinehas have a right to execute this vengeance upon him? or what could be the safety of even the highest magistrates in this economy, if private men might put on an officious zeal, and assassinate, at pleasure, those whose actions were unjustifiable, and deserved punishment? I answer: 1. That GOD had expressly ordered the persons who committed this wickedness⁴, to be punished with death; so that nothing was done to Zimri more than GOD had directed to be the punishment of the crime he was guilty of. 2. Before Zimri appeared in this action, Moses had ordered the people to be punished in the regular way of their administration, by the proper officers who were over them⁵; but Zimri was, I think, one of the supreme judges, one of the renowned men of the congregation⁶, a prince of a tribe, a head of thousands in Israel, and had a right to stand with Moses and Aaron in their government of the people; and consequently could not regularly be brought under sentence of the judges, who were inferior to him. And this must have been the foundation for the insolence of his behaviour. *He brought unto his brethren a Midianitish woman in the sight of Moses, and in the sight of all the congregation of the children of Israel, who were weeping before the door of the tabernacle*⁷. He was so far from paying regard to what Moses had ordered, that he acted in open defiance of it; and instead

⁴ Numb. xxv, 4.⁵ Ver. 5.⁶ Chap. i, 16.⁷ Chap. xxv, 6.

of appointing the judges of his tribe to punish those who were under their jurisdiction, as God had commanded, he openly, and in the face of the congregation, abetted by his own practice what he ought to have used his authority to correct and suppress. Therefore something extraordinary was here necessary to be done, to punish a crime, which appeared too daring to be corrected, in the practice of a person, who seemed too great to be called to account for it. And indeed, 3. We do not read, that the judges did at all exert themselves in executing the orders, which Moses had given them. Moses had required them to *slay every one his man, who were joined unto Baal-peor*⁸; but we hear of none who fell for this wickedness, except this Zimri and those who died of the plague⁹. The transgression was too universal to be corrected by a judiciary proceeding; and as Moses was once before obliged to summon the Levites in an extraordinary manner to punish a sin, in which great numbers of persons, and high in station and authority, had engaged¹; so in this case something of a like nature was absolutely necessary to bring the offenders to condign punishment. But, 4. Since *there is no lawful and justifiable power, but of God*²; since in every government *the powers that have a right to command or to punish, must be ordained of God*³, either by deriving their au-

⁸ Numb. xxv, 5.

¹ Exod. xxxii, 26.

³ Ibid.

⁹ Ver. 9.

² Rom. xiii, 1.

thority from the constitution of such government (for thus *every ordinance of man*⁴ may have a right of authority, and be *the ordinance of God*⁵), or by being appointed by immediate revelation, and an express commission from heaven; and since Phinehas had no authority to punish Zimri from any law or constitution in the Jewish economy, I must confess that, unless he had a divine command for what he did in this matter, I should think his taking vengeance in the manner in which he signalled himself, must want a further justification than what we could offer for it, from the plea of a warm but well-meant zeal to assert the glory of God, and to put a stop to the insolence and wickedness of the people; and he ought certainly, notwithstanding such a plea, to have been called to answer for it before the proper judges, if, 5. GOD had not, in an extraordinary manner, declared his acceptance and approbation of the death of Zimri. As soon as Zimri was dead, *the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Phinehas the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest, hath turned my wrath away from the children of Israel (while he was zealous for my sake among them) that I consumed not the children of Israel in my jealousy. Wherefore say, behold, I give unto him my covenant of peace. And he shall have it, and his seed after him, even the covenant of an everlasting priesthood; because he was zealous for his GOD, and made an*

⁴ Ἀνθρώπων κτίσις. 1 Pet. ii, 13.

⁵ Rom. xiii, 2.

*atonement for the children of Israel*⁶. God declared this to Moses by a special revelation. And that God indeed did reveal it, and that it was not a pretence of Moses to protect Phinehas, was apparent to the congregation, being sufficiently attested by the plague's ceasing as soon as Zimri was dead⁷. I am sensible that what is already offered is sufficient to vindicate the behaviour of Phinehas. If God himself declared him to be acquitted, who should condemn him? And his example can lay no foundation for a dangerous imitation; for it will in no wise prove, that an illegal action, though proceeding from a most upright heart, *zealously affected in a good thing*, is ever to be justified, unless God, by an express and well-attested revelation from heaven, declares his patronage and acceptance of it. But, 6. I might add farther, that what Phinehas did was not only the effect of zeal, but rather God revealed himself to him before he attacked Zimri, and required him to cut off that high offender; and consequently Phinehas had as clear and full a commission for what he did, as Moses had for the discharge of the offices unto which God appointed him, though Moses and the congregation were not at first apprised of it. Phinehas is said, by the death of Zimri, to have made an atonement for the children of Israel⁸. But what merit could there be in the death of Zimri?

⁶ Numb. xxv, 10, 11, 12, 13.

⁷ Ver, 8.

⁸ Ver. 13.

How could that expiate the sins of the congregation? Or what had Phinehas to do in pretending to make atonement, unless GOD had appointed him? For *no man taketh this honour to himself*, nor can perform this office with any effect, *but he that is called of GOD as was Aaron*⁹. Or if Phinehas had been entitled to endeavour to procure a reconciliation of GOD to his people, he must surely have attempted it in some way which GOD appointed; and not by a strange service, *which GOD commanded him not*¹, and which must therefore have been more likely to offend than to please him². But all these difficulties are fully cleared by what Moses was ordered to declare to the Israelites: *Wherefore say, Behold I give unto him my covenant of peace*³. The verse is injudiciously translated. The Hebrew words, *hinnenî nothen lo barithî shalom*, signify, *behold it was I who gave to him my covenant of peace*⁴; and the declaration was intended to inform the congregation, that Phinehas had not done a rash action, moved to it by a mere warmth of heart, but that GOD had directed him to what he had performed; made him

⁹ Heb. v, 4.

¹ See Lev. x, 1, &c.

² See the case of Nadab and Abihu, b. xi, p. 165.

³ Numb. xxv, 12.

⁴ The Hebrew text is thus written and pointed:

הִנֵּנִי נֹתֵן לוֹ אֶת בְּרִיתִי שָׁלוֹם

i. e. Ecce me dantem illi pactum meum pacis. Ecce, *me*, dantem, *i. e.* Ecce me, qui dabam. The participle is of the imperfect tense as well as of the present.

an express covenant upon his performing it; assuring him, that the doing it should obtain pardon for the people; and that upon the death of Zimri and Cozbi, slain by his hand, the wickedness, which had been committed in the camp, should be forgiven. In this view of the fact all is clear, and it is easy to see how a covenant of peace was given to Phinehas; how he was enabled to make atonement for the people; and in what sense the death of the offenders slain by him was such atonement; and what he did stands clear of the objections which can be offered against an irregular zeal; for it was not an instance of such a zeal, but of one more defensible, namely, of a zealous and intrepid performance of what GOD by an express revelation had required of him.

GOD was indeed pleased to promise here, ver. 13, by Moses, an addition to the favour before granted to Phinehas. GOD before gave him his covenant of peace; but this extended no farther than to the making him the instrument of obtaining pardon for the sin, upon account of which the people were under his displeasure. But now, because Phinehas was *zealous for his GOD*, and had performed the service to which he was called, with a ready heart, GOD was pleased to promise that the grant made to him should stand in force, until it conveyed the priesthood to him, and to his seed after him⁵. Our translators render the 13th verse, *And he shall*

⁵ Numb. xxv, 13.

have it, and his seed after him, even the covenant of an everlasting priesthood; but this version is far from expressing the true meaning of the place. The Hebrew words rightly translated, are, *And it shall be to him, and to his seed after him, a covenant, or grant, of the everlasting priesthood*⁶: i. e. My grant or promise shall not here expire, upon his having obtained what I agreed to give him, namely, a pardon for my people, but shall continue still in force, to assure him, that in due time he shall himself be high-priest, and his seed after him. God had before this time limited the priesthood to Aaron and his descendants, and it was to be to them *an everlasting priesthood throughout their generations*⁷; it was ever to descend by inheritance in their families from generation to generation. Now this it might have done, though neither Phinehas nor any child of his had ever been possessed of it; for Phinehas and his son or sons, whether he had one or more, might have died before Eleazar, and in such case, Eleazar's next heir would have had the priesthood, and it would have gone down to his, and not to Phinehas's descendants. But the promise now made to Phinehas was an assurance to him of God's protection to preserve both him and his seed, so that the priesthood should descend to them. The commentators have,

⁶ The Hebrew words are,

והיתה לו ולזרעו אחריו ברית כהנת עולם

.seculi sacerdotii pactum eum post ejus semini et ei erit Et

⁷ Exod. xl, 15.

I think, all of them run into a difficulty, which they are not able to get out of. They suppose, that the term *everlasting* is here joined to the priesthood, to express the continuance of the priesthood amongst Phinehas's descendants; as if God here had promised Phinehas and his seed after him the grant of an everlasting priesthood; or of a priesthood which should ever remain in their hands, without being at any time translated into any other branch of Aaron's family⁸. But then they are at a loss how to make out the performance of this promise; for they observe that Eli, who was high-priest in the days of Samuel, was of the family of Ithamar; and that therefore the priesthood went out of the hands of the descendants of Phinehas, when it came to Eli, and that it did not return again to them until, after some successions, it came again to Zadoc in the days of David. But I think this difficulty might be avoided. We need not suppose that the priesthood is here called everlasting, to express a design of a perpetual continuance of it to Phinehas's descendants; but rather the term *everlasting* is the appellation annexed to the priesthood in its limitation to the family of Aaron⁹; and suggests no more than that the priesthood of Aaron should descend to them. God made to Phinehas and to his seed after him, not an everlasting grant of the priesthood, as some

⁸ Vid. Cleric. Comment. in loc.

⁹ Exod. xl, 15.

commentators take it¹; nor a grant of an everlasting priesthood, as our English version renders the place; but rather a grant of the everlasting priesthood; of the priesthood limited to Aaron and his descendants by that appellation. And this promise would have been fulfilled, if the priesthood had descended only to Eleazar and his son. I am sensible that the Jews before and about our Saviour's time had a notion, that Phinehas had a grant of an everlasting priesthood to him and his posterity. The author of the book of Ecclesiasticus seems to have been of this opinion², as well as Philo Judæus³, and others; but in fact there was not such a perpetuity of the possession of the priesthood in this family; no inspired writer has, I think, hinted, that the passage contains such a promise, and the text does not appear to imply it.

Upon the ceasing of the plague, God commanded Moses and Eleazar to take a poll of the Israelites⁴; at casting up of which the people were found to be six hundred and one thousand, seven

¹ The critics write the text [Barith Kehunnah le Nalam] Pactum Sacerdotii sempiternum, *A covenant of the priesthood for ever*. Le Clerc says, Fœdus Sacerdotii perpetuum. But they mistake the word in the text. The Hebrew text is *Nolam*, and not *le Nolam*, for ever.

² Eccclus. xlv, 24.

³ Philo says, there was given to Phinehas, παγκρατησίαν ιερωσύνης αὐτῷ, καὶ γένηι κληρονομίαν ἀναφαιρέτον. de Vit. Mosis, lib. i, p. 649.

⁴ Numb. xxvi, 1, 2.

hundred and thirty men of twenty years old and upwards, without the Levites⁵; and the Levites from a month old and upwards were twenty-three thousand⁶. Now from this poll it appeared, that there was no one person now alive of those whom Moses and Aaron had numbered in the wilderness of Sinai, except Moses himself and Caleb and Joshua⁷. At this time the daughters of Zelophehad represented the death of their father, and his having left no sons⁸; and Moses brought their cause before the LORD, and received a law for the settling their inheritance⁹. And now Moses was ordered to arm a thousand out of each tribe, and send them under the command of Phinehas to war against the Midianites¹, and God delivered into their hand the rulers of Midian; and without the loss of one man they made an absolute conquest of all their territories². Balaam lived in Midian at this time, and fell by the sword of the Israelites³.

The Israelites were now in possession of a considerable country, part of which the children of Reuben and Gad desired to have for their inheritance; and came to Moses and Eleazar to petition for it⁴. Moses at first thought their request highly unreasonable, and remonstrated, that for

⁵ Numb. xxvi, 51.

⁷ Ver. 64.

⁸ Ver. 5—11.

⁹ Ver. 7—14.

⁴ Numb. xxxii, 1.

⁶ Ver. 62.

⁸ Ch. xxvii, 1, 2, &c.

¹ Ch. xxxi, 1—6.

³ Ver. 8.

them to desire to be settled, before Canaan was conquered, would be a refusal to serve in the war, unto which God had appointed them as well as other Israelites, and might bring down the divine vengeance upon the congregation, if they should consent to it⁵. Hereupon the two tribes explained their meaning; that they intended not to desert their brethren, but only to settle their families in these parts; that they designed themselves to march with the camp, and assist in reducing the land of Canaan⁶. Upon these terms Moses consented, and ordered Eleazar the priest, and Joshua the son of Nun, and the chief fathers of the tribes, to divide to the children of Gad and of Reuben, and to the half tribe of Manasseh, all the land which the Israelites had conquered on the east side of Jordan⁷. After this he gave directions for dividing the land of Canaan, when they should have conquered it⁸; charging them to expel the inhabitants, and demolish all the monuments of their idolatries⁹; declaring, that if they were remiss herein, terrible inconveniences would ensue¹. Then he described the land, telling them its bounds and extent², and named the persons who should divide it when conquered³. He appointed them to allot the Levites their cities⁴, and to set out the

⁵ Numb. xxxii, 6—15.

⁷ Ver. 33.

⁹ Ver. 52, 53.

² Ch. xxxiv, 1—16.

⁴ Ch. xxxv, 2—8.

⁶ Ver. 16—27.

⁸ Chap. xxxiii, 54.

¹ Ver. 55, 56.

³ Ver. 17—29.

cities of refuge⁵. He settled an inconvenience arising from the inheritance of daughters, upon a remonstrance brought before him by the sons of Gilead⁶. And now he was reminded, that he was not to go into the Land of Promise⁷. He prayed God to permit him to go into it; but his prayer was not accepted⁸. He was ordered to go up to Mount Abarim or Pisgah, and from thence to take a view of the land; but he was expressly told, that he should not go over Jordan⁹. Hereupon he begged of God to name a person to lead the people; and God directed him to appoint Joshua¹. And at this time I suppose the laws mentioned in the xxviiiith, xxixth, and xxxth chapters of Numbers were given.

On the first day of the eleventh month of the fortieth year after the exit out of Egypt², Moses began to exhort the Israelites, in the words recorded in the first chapter of Deuteronomy; and he continued his exhortation daily; until he had offered to their consideration what we are told in that book he spake to them. Then he called for Joshua, and exhorted him to be of good courage, in leading the people, assuring him of the divine assistance and protection³. In the next place he delivered the book of the law, which he had writ-

⁵ Numb. xxxv, 9—34.

⁷ Ch. xxvii, 12.

⁹ Ver. 27; Numb. xxvii, 12, 13.

¹ Ver. 16—18.

³ Ch. xxxi, 7, 8.

⁶ Ch. xxxvi.

⁸ Deut. iii, 25, 26.

² Deut. i, 3.

ten, to the Priests and Levites, and unto all the elders of Israel; and commanded them to have it read once in seven years to the people⁴. Then he presented himself and Joshua before the LORD in the tabernacle of the congregation; where the LORD appeared in the pillar of the cloud, and revealed to Moses, that the people, after his death, would forsake the law, and bring many evils upon themselves⁵. In order to warn them against so fatal a perverseness, he was commanded to write the song recorded in the xxxiiid chapter of Deuteronomy⁶. Moses therefore wrote this song, and taught it the children of Israel⁷; and he added it, and an account of what had passed unto this time, to the book of the law. When he had thus finished the book he ordered the Levites to put it in the side of the ark of the covenant, and there to keep it⁸. *After this he blessed the people⁹, and then went up from the plains of Moab to the top of Pisgah¹*, the LORD, having from thence given him a prospect of the land, said unto him, *This is the land, which I sware unto Abraham, unto Isaac,*

⁴ Deut. xxxi, 9—13.

⁵ Ver. 14, 18.

⁶ Ver. 19.

⁷ Ver. 22.

⁸ Ch. xxxi, 24, 26; see Prideaux, Connect. vol. i, b, iii.

⁹ Deut. xxxiii. Simeon is not mentioned in this chapter; but we must not think that Moses forgot or omitted to bless this tribe. The Alexandrian MS. of the Septuagint reads the sixth verse thus: Let Reuben live and not die, and let the men of Simeon be many, or not few. The word Simeon was written in this verse by Moses; but the copyists have omitted it by mistake in transcribing.

¹ Deut. xxxiv, 1.

and unto Jacob, saying, *I will give it unto thy seed. I have caused thee to see it with thine eyes, but thou shalt not go over thither*². We do not read that Moses came down the mount any more, but rather died there, whither he went up, as Aaron died in mount Hor³. He was a hundred and twenty years old when he died; but his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated⁴. He died about the end of the eleventh month, A. M. 2553. The Israelites mourned for him one month, or thirty days⁵, which I suppose concluded the year. He was buried in the valley over against Beth Peor⁶; but there being no monument erected to distinguish his grave, the particular place of it was forgotten in a few years⁷.

After so large an account as I have given of the

² Deut. xxxiv, 4.

³ Ver. 5.

⁴ Ver. 7.

⁵ Ver. 8.

⁶ Ver. 6.

⁷ The Hebrew writers have had many fancies concerning the death and burial of Moses. Vid. Joseph. Antiq. lib. iv, cap. 48; Philo Jud. de vit. Mosis, l. iii. And the present text of the xxxivth chapter of Deut., ver. 6, may seem to give some handle for them. It is there written, וקבר אֹתוֹ, *vejekabber aotho*, i. e. and he buried him, as if Moses was not buried by human hands, but by God himself, and in a place unknown to the Israelites: but the LXX render the place, Καὶ ἐθαψαν αὐτόν, not *he* buried him, but *they* buried him. The ancient original Hebrew text was, I think, undoubtedly, וקברו in the plural number, and the transcribers inadvertently dropt the final letter. The Israelites were the persons who buried Moses; and the remark added to the end of the verse only hints, that no monument having been erected over him, the place where he was buried was not certainly known at the time when the xxxivth chapter of Deuteronomy was written.

several transactions in which Moses was concerned; the reader must greatly anticipate me in what I might attempt to offer upon his conduct and character. He was remarkably eminent in a high station of life; had a great share of power and authority; an absolute command of above six hundred thousand men fit to bear arms, besides their families. He was advanced to this dignity, not from any schemes of his own politics and ambition; not from any accidental success of arms; not from the heats and chances which commonly give rise to and direct a popular choice; but by the special command and appointment of GOD himself. And herein (to use the hint of Philo*) he acted in a post above any thing of this world, was superior in character to the most exalted of those, who conduct the designs of the greatest princes of the Earth; for he was the immediate minister of ALMIGHTY GOD to a chosen people, and behaved himself so well in the discharge of the trust committed to him, as to be honoured with this testimony from his great master, that *he was faithful to him that appointed him in all his house*⁹. If we consider the administration of Moses, we shall, from the manner of it, see all reason to conclude, that no views of his own, but an absolute submission and adherence to the will of GOD revealed to him, must

* Διαφέροντως τιμήσας τον ηγεμονα τω παντος, και αντιτιμησεις υπ' αυτου τιμη δε αρμοττεσα σοφω θεραπειειν το προς αληθειαν ον. Philo de Vit. Mosis, l. iii.

⁹ Numb. xii, 7.

have directed him in all the several parts of it; for what private advantage either to himself or to his family, did he endeavour to acquire from all his labours? He had two sons, Gershom and Eliezer; but we do not find, that in forming the Jewish polity he made any particular provision for either of them. His sons were of the children of Levi, and as Levites had their appointed courses in the work and service of the tabernacle¹; but no privilege above other Levites, the priesthood being settled upon the family of Aaron². As Moses had the supreme direction of the civil magistracy during his life, had he conducted his measures by private rules of his own wisdom, is it probable that he would have given away at his death the command of the people, both from his own and from his brother's family, into another tribe, to Joshua the son of Nun of the tribe of Ephraim³? Where are such instances of resignation to be found in the world? Indeed when Alexander the Great was dying, and was solicited to name his successor, he is said to have made no provision for any of his own family; but declared it to be his will, that the most worthy should have his kingdom⁴. I cannot but question what is thus reported: for Plutarch, who has been very exact in collecting the circumstances of Alexander's

¹ 1 Chron. xxiii, 14.

² Exod. xl, 12—15; see Numb. xvi, 9, 10, 40.

³ Numb. xiii, 8; Deut. xxxi.

⁴ Quint. Curtii Hist. l. x; Arrian de Expedit. Alexand. l. vii; Diodor. Sic. Hist. l. xvii.

death, informs us, that he was speechless before the persons came to him, to whom, according to others, he made this disposition⁵; although, if he did not make it, it is obvious that not a disengagement of his private affections to his own family, but a true sense of the temper of his army, and the state of his affairs, might lead him to it. He knew his extensive empire was not so well established, as to be likely to descend to his heirs; but that at his death the generals, who had commanded in his armies, and had a place in his councils, would form parties, and divide his acquisitions⁶, and he had no time to settle the claims of their several pretensions, but only wish them all well, and the best success to the most deserving. But Moses's affairs were in another situation. If the will of God had not been his direction, he might have appointed himself a successor, and the person recommended by his nomination, would, humanly speaking, have been as unanimously received and submitted to by the people as Joshua himself.

There are many particulars, which to a thinking person must abundantly prove that Moses's conduct in leading the Israelites had been directed by an immediate revelation. It is not likely, that he should of his own head, when he left Egypt, have

⁵ Vid. Plutarch. in Vit. Alexand. ad fin.

⁶ Curtius says, Quærentibus cui relinqueret regnum, respondit, ei qui esset optimus: cæterum prævidere jam, ob id certamen, magnos funebres ludos parari sibi. Hist. l. x, c. 5; vid. Arrian. de Expedit. Alex. lib. vii; Diodor. Sic. lib. xvii, c. 117.

made the march, which he led the people to the Red Sea⁷; much less would he, without a divine command, have had a thought of attempting for forty years together such dangers and difficulties as the wilderness exposed him to, and out of which he could foresee no escape, but by miraculous deliverances. The march of Alexander the Great, over the sands of Libya to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, has been variously censured as a very⁸ wild expedition; though certainly such a march, attempted and performed with the greatest dispatch, could be only one single trial at most, of what Moses habituated the Israelites to for forty years together. Besides, Alexander had an aim visible enough, and political⁹, to tempt him to his undertaking; but if we set aside the divine command, Moses could have no pretence for harassing and endangering his people with such perpetual extremities. We find many of the princes of the congregation thought Moses's conduct so palpably contradictory to all rules of human prudence, that they remonstrated it to be the greatest

⁷ See vol. ii, book ix.

^{*} See Prideaux, Connect., part i, book vi.

⁹ *Illud pene risu dignum fuit, quod Hermolaus postulabat me (says Alexander) ut aversarer Jovem, cujus oraculo cognoscor. An etiam quid Dii respondeant in mea potestate est? Obtulit nomen filii mihi, recipere ipsis rebus quas agimus non alienum fuit: utinam Indi quoque me Deum esse credant: fama enim bella constant, et sæpe quod falso creditum est, veri vicem obtinuit. Curtius, lib. viii, c. 8.*

blindness for the people to be any farther led on by him¹.

It may perhaps be suggested, that Moses's detaining the people so long in the wilderness, might be to discipline them, and inure them to hardships; to give them various experience, that dangers and difficulties which at first sight seem insuperable, may by patience and good conduct be borne and conquered; and that he marched the Israelites here no longer, than until he had formed them to a competent skill and courage for the conquest of Canaan: that the wilderness was a place well suited for his thus exercising his army, affording him a secure retreat from the attacks of all nations, and opportunities to try the temper and courage of the Israelites daily with the appearances of various dangers, into which he might lead them as far as he thought proper, and retire whenever he thought it expedient to attempt no farther. But what may be thus intimated, cannot possibly be allowed; unless it can be proved, that the Israelites could have subsisted in those desarts, if they had not had the miraculous supply, which God was pleased to give them from Heaven². The camp which Moses led was, men, women, and children, a body of about two or three millions of people; and a country both of large extent and great plenty, must, at first sight, appear necessary to bear and to

¹ Numb. xvi, 14.

² Exod. xvi.

maintain them. But the wilderness was *a land of drought and of the shadow of death*; a land, where a parched turf, and withered shrubs, must, to any one who should enter it, give a perpetual picture of decay and desolation. It was a land, to use the words of the Prophet, which *no man passed through, and where no man dwelt*³. And if God had not directed, it is not to be conceived that Moses could have projected to sustain and keep together such a host as he led in so unpromising a country. Besides, if what is above offered was the reason of the encampments in the wilderness, how shall we account for Moses not attempting to enter Canaan, when he had as promising an opportunity, to all human appearance, as he could ever hope for? When the spies returned from searching the land⁴, it was the opinion of some that the Israelites were able to conquer it, if they would march with courage and resolution to attack it⁵; others indeed were of another mind, and were for returning back to Egypt again⁶. There was great heat and debate in the camp upon this subject⁷; but at last, after Moses had at large remonstrated to them, they were all willing to make the attempt; nay, and so resolutely bent upon it, that all he could say against it could not prevent their marching⁸. And now, would not one think the camp spirited up to a temper, such as a wise general would have wished

³ Jer. ii, 6.⁵ Ver. 30.⁷ Ver. 6—10.⁴ Numb. xiii, 25.⁶ Ver. 31; xiv, 4.⁸ Ver. 41, 44.

for, and made use of? But we find Moses acted a part directly contrary to what in human prudence might have been expected from him. He assured the people, that no attempt they should now make would be crowned with success; that forty years must pass before they should be able to enter the land⁹. Will it be here said, that probably Moses judged very wisely of his army; that he knew well that the courage they pretended to was no more than a sudden heat; and that it would not support him through the war which was before him; and that many years discipline was really necessary to form them for greater things, than they were yet capable of, before he could hope to reduce by them so many and such warlike nations as possessed Canaan; and that therefore he assigned them forty years to fit them for it? But surely if this had been his purpose, a shorter respite might have answered his intentions; and above all things, he would never have denounced, that all the men of war, who were then the strength and flower of the camp, must be brought down to their graves before he could hope to be able to attempt what was the design of the expedition. Yet Moses, without any reserve, now declared this to them. *As truly as I live, saith the LORD, your carcasses shall fall in this wilderness; and all that were numbered of you, according to your whole number, from twenty years old and upwards—doubtless you shall*

⁹ Numb. xiv, 33.

*not come into the land—your carcasses, they shall fall in this wilderness*¹. Here now is a view of things for a wise general to pretend to declare to his whole army: to assure almost every man amongst them, capable of bearing arms, that he had now no hope of bringing them to any good end of all their labours; but that the only thing he could pretend to for them, was to carry them about for forty years together, from difficulty to difficulty, and bury them in the desert. God indeed might appoint them this punishment for their disobedience²; and Moses, in confidence of an Almighty support, might securely pronounce their doom to them, and the people, convinced that it was God's appointment, might submit to it; but unless we allow all this, what general would have shocked a whole army in this manner, or have suffered any attempt to have such impressions made upon them? For what could such a view of things naturally produce, but numerous tumults, mutinies, and a total defection?

Our modern deists are indeed ready to allow Moses the character of a great and wise man; to suppose him far superior in all points of science to any of, or to all the people under his direction; and they suppose that he had given laws to the Israelites, and had formed their commonwealth with great art and address; but had had no more divine assistance towards it, than Minos, Numa,

¹ Numb. xiv, 28, 29, 30, 32.

² Ibid.

Lycurgus, or other famous legislators of the heathen world. All these were as highly thought of by their followers as Moses by his Israelites³; and they all pretended to have been favoured with revelations from Heaven, in order to create a reverence of their establishments among their people; and some of them are recorded to have been supported with miracles in their undertakings. They were wise and learned men, and gave every appearance an artful turn, and made the ordinary course of nature seem full of miracles to persons of inferior understandings, for carrying forward their purposes among them. Quintus Curtius informs us, that Alexander the Great erected over his pavilion an artificial signal, to give notice for a decampment of his army; that it was contrived of such materials, as to be conspicuous in the day-

³ Πεισται φασι πρωτον αγραπτοις νομοις χρησασθαι τα πληθη και βιβν τον Μνευην, ανδρα και τη ψυχη μεγαν, και τω βιω κοινοτατον των μνημονευομενων προσποιηθηναι δε αυτω τον Ερμην δεδωκεναι τετθς, ως μεγαλων αγαθων αιτιθς εσομενθς· καθαπερ παρ' Ελλησι ποιησαι φασιν εν μιν τη Κρητη Μινωα, παρα δε Λακεδαιμονιοις Λυκεργον· τονε μιν παρα Διος, τον δε παρ' Απολλωνος φησαντα τετθς ειληφεναι· και παρ ετεροις δε πλειοσιν εθνεσι παραδεδοται τετθ το γενοθς της επινοιας υπαρξαι, και πολλων αγαθων αιτιον γενεσθαι τοις πεισθεισι· παρα μιν γαρ τοις Αρμισασποις Ζαδραυσην ισορρσι τον αγαθον Δαιμονα προσποιησασθαι τθς νομθς αυτω διδοναι, παρα δε τοις ονομαζομενοις Γεταις Ζαμολξιν ωσαυτω την κοινην Εσιαν, παρα δε τοις Ινδοις Μωσην τον Ιαω επικαλυμενον θεον· ειτε θαυμασην και θειαν ολωθς εννοιαν ειναι κριναντας την μελλθσαν ωφελθσειν ανθρωπων πληθος, ειτε και προς την υπεροχην και δυναμιν των ευρειν λεγομενων τθς νομθς αποβλεφαντα τον οχλον, μαλλον υπακυσσεσθαι διαλαβοντας. Diodor. Sic. lib. i, p. 59.

time by a great smoke issuing from it, and in the night-time it appeared to be on fire⁴. A modern writer insinuates that the pillar of the cloud and of fire, which directed the marches of the Israelites⁵, was a contrivance of Moses of a like nature. Others have intimated, that it was no greater miracle than the pillar of light which conducted Thrasybulus and his followers from Phyla⁶. But in answer hereto let us consider,

I. That if Moses has recorded nothing but what was real fact, it must be undeniably evident, that the hand of God was most miraculously employed in leading the Israelites out of Egypt, in giving their law, in conducting them through the wilderness, and in bringing them into Canaan. If the miracles were wrought in the land of Egypt, and the judgments executed upon Pharaoh and his people, as Moses has related⁷: if the Red Sea

⁴ *Tuba, cum castra movere vellet, signum dabat: cujus sonus plerumque tumultuantium fremitu exoriente haud satis exaudiebatur. Ergo perticam, quæ undique conspici posset, supra prætorium statuit, ex qua signum eminebat pariter omnibus conspicuum. Observabatur ignis noctu, fumus interdiu — Quint. Curt. lib. v, c. 2.*

⁵ Exod. xl, 38.

⁶ Ἀλλὰ καὶ Θρασυβελῶ τῆς ἐκπεσόντας ἀπὸ Φυλῆς καταγαγόντι καὶ βεβλημένῳ λαθεῖν, σὺλος ὁδηγὸς γίνεται διὰ τῶν ἀτρίβων ἰόντι· τῷ Θρασυβελῷ νυκτῶρ, ἀσελῆγος καὶ δυσχεμερὶς τὸ κατασηματὸς γεγινότες, πῦρ εὐρατὸ προηγούμενον, ὅπερ αὐτὸς ἀπταισῶς προπεψῆσαν, κατὰ τὴν Μουνυχίαν ἐξελίπεν, ἐνθα νῦν ὁ τῆς Φωσφορῆς Βωμὸς ἐστίν. Clem. Alexan. Stromat, lib. i, c. 24, p. 418. Edit. Oxon.

⁷ Exod. vii, viii, ix, x, xi, xii.

was really divided before the Israelites, and Pharaoh and his host drowned in it, as Moses has recorded⁸: if a miraculous supply of food was given daily to the Israelites in the wilderness for forty years together⁹: if God did indeed speak to them in an audible voice from Heaven¹: if their laws were given as Moses informs us²: if their tabernacle was directed, and when finished, if a cloud covered the tent, and the glory of the LORD filled the tabernacle and rested upon it in a cloud by day, and in fire by night³: if this cloud removed visibly to conduct their journeyings⁴: if the many oppositions of the people were miraculously punished in the several manners related to us⁵, and the miracles which are recorded were wrought to testify the divine appointments of the institutions enjoined, when the people would have varied from them⁶: if a prophet even of another nation, corrupt in the inclination of his heart, and tempted by great offers to speak evil of this people, was by very astonishing miracles prevented from declaring any thing about them different from what Moses had represented to be the purpose of God towards them⁷: if all these, and other things of a like na-

⁸ Exod. xiv.

⁹ Chap. xvi, 35.

¹ Chap. xix, xx; Deut. iv, 12, 33, 36.

² Exod. ubi sup.; Deut. v, &c.

³ Exod. xxxv; xl. 34.

⁴ Ver. 38.

⁵ Numb. xi, xii, xiv, xvi, xxi, xxv, &c.

⁶ Levit. x; Numb. xvi, xvii, &c.

⁷ Chap. xxiii, xxiv.

ture, which might be enumerated, were really and truly done, as Moses has related; well might he call Heaven and Earth to witness for him⁸; well might he observe, that no such things had ever been done for any nation⁹; and we who read them must conclude, that the power of God did indeed miraculously interest itself in appointing the law and polity of this people, and in conducting them to their settlement in the promised land.

II. That the facts recorded by Moses were really done as he relates them, must be allowed by any one who considers, that Moses wrote his books in the very age in which the things he records were done, to be read by the very persons who had seen and known the facts to be true, which are recorded by him; that they might testify and transmit their sense of the truth of them to their posterity. Now this is a material circumstance, in which the reports we have of the heathen miracles are greatly deficient. Clemens Alexandrinus relates, that Thrasylus led his company under the guidance of a pillar of light in the Heavens¹; but Clemens Alexandrinus lived above six hundred years after the time of this supposed fact. Upon what authority he related it we are not told; but we find no such prodigy recorded in the best heathen writers, who, had it been fact, would surely have made mention

⁸ Deut. xxx, 19.

⁹ Chap. iv, 33, 34.

¹ Stromat. lib. i.

of it. Xenophon², Diodorus Siculus³, Cornelius Nepos⁴, have related this expedition of Thrasybulus; but none of them mention any such miracle assistant to him; so that we have all reason to think there was none such, but that Clemens Alexandrinus was imposed upon in the account he received of it. And this is generally true of the miracles reported in heathen history: subsequent writers, after large intervals of time, tell us things said to have been done, but without sufficient vouchers to attest the facts related by them. Whereas Moses wrote of the things in which himself had been the chief agent; and required his books to be repeatedly read, and considered over and over⁵ by the very persons who had seen and known the truth of what he wrote as clearly and fully as himself; in order to have the facts recorded by him go down attested to be true to succeeding generations. Therefore Moses could not falsify the facts related by him, unless the generation he lived in concurred with him in a design to impose upon their descendants in all these matters; or were so over-reached and deceived by his superior skill and management, as to be made believe that they had seen and lived in a most surprising scene of things, which, all the time, were really not done

² Vid. *Histor. Græc.* l. ii.

³ *Diodor. Histor. lib. xiv.*

⁴ *Cornel. Nep. in Vit. Thrasybuli.*

⁵ *Deut. xxxi, 10.*

in the manner they were taught to conceive and imagine. But,

III. If we consider the nature and manner of the miracles, which bear testimony to Moses's administration, it is impossible to conceive that the Israelites were deceived in them. They could never have been led on, and for so long a time, in an imaginary belief of such things as Moses had recorded, if either the things were not done, or not done as he has related them. As to the signs and prodigies which the heathen writers mention, to give a sanction to the foundation of their kingdoms, we may generally see, that these very writers, who report them, did not believe them⁶; and that they were known artifices of their great legislators, calculated only to have weight upon the populace; but in no wise supported against the objections which a thinking person might easily find to offer to them. When Romulus died, the Roman historians tell us, that he was taken up into Heaven⁷; but we do not find that they ever had such proofs of his assumption, as to prevent a suspicion of his being murdered, in the age when his death happened; or to cause after-ages to give full credit to what they attempted to have believed about it⁸. In like manner, when he was created

⁶ Vid. Liv. Hist. Præfat.

⁷ Liv. lib. i, c. 16; Dionys. Halic. Antiq. Rom. lib. ii, c. 56; Plutarch. in Romul.

⁸ Fuisse credo tum quoque aliquos, qui discerptum regem patrum manibus taciti arguerent: manavit enim hæc quoque

king, we are told that a divine approbation, discovering itself by an auspicious lightning, attended his inauguration⁹; and that it was an institution appointed to be for ever observed among the Romans, that no person should be admitted to command the people, unless the gods by such sign from Heaven should confirm the election¹: But Dionysius of Halicarnassus is, I think, the only writer, who reports that the Roman magistracies have had the countenance of such a confirmation; and he confesses that their elections in his time had fallen a great deal short of it². For he tells us, that at their elections a public augur was to declare the expected lightning to have happened, whether any appearance of it had been seen or not³; Plutarch seems to have thought, that all that was related about these lightnings⁴ had been fabulous. And if we consider how uncertain it is whether Dionysius had any good vouchers to support what he writes to have been the facts in those

sed perobscura fama. Liv. ubi sup. Dionys. Halicar & Plutarch. in Romul. in loc. supra citat.

⁹ Dionys. Halicar. lib. ii, c. 5.

¹ Halicar. lib. ii, c. 6.

² Πεπαυται δ' εν τοις καθ' ημας χρονοις· πλην οιον ειπων τις αυτε λειπεται, της οσιας ταυτης ενεκα γινομενη. Id. *ibid*.

³ Των δε παροντων τινες ορνιθοσκοπων μισθον εκ τη δημοσιω φερομενοι, ασραπων αυτοις μηνυειν φασιν εκ των αρισερων την & γενομενην. Id. *ibid*.

⁴ Ταυτα μεν εν τα μυθωδη και γελοια την των τοτε ανθρωπων επιδεικνυται διαθεσιν προς το θειον, ην ο εθισμος αυτοις ενεποιησεν. Plut. in Numa, p. 70.

times⁵, we shall have just reason to suppose, that the most early elections of the Roman magistrates had no more a divine sanction, than the more modern; and that what Dionysius relates about them was one of those fictions, by which the heathens endeavoured to give a lustre to their ancient institutions⁶. In like manner when Numa was to form the religion of the Romans, he affected a rural and retired life, was much alone, and pretended to have many conversations with a deity, who instructed him in his institutions⁷; but it is obvious, that he gave his people no other evidence of his having been assisted by a divine presence, than the testimony of his own saying it⁸. And in this way we may observe of the Cretan Minos, of the Lycurgus of the Lacedæmonians, of the Arimaspiæan Zathraustes, and of the Getan Zamolxis, compared with Moses by Diodorus⁹. They were all said to have the will of their gods revealed to them; but there is so little appearance of proof of what is thus said, that Plutarch's observation concerning

⁵ Vid. Liv. Hist. lib. vi, c. 1.

⁶ Datur hæc venia antiquitati, ut miscendo humana divinis, primordia urbium augustiora faciat. Liv. Præf. ad Hist. lib. i.

⁷ Vid. Plutarch. in Numa, p. 61, 62. Omnium primum rem ad multitudinem imperitam, et illis seculis efficacissimam, deorum metum injiciendum ratus est: qui quum descendere ad animos sine aliquo commento miraculi non posset, simulat sibi cum Dea Egeria congressus nocturnos esse, ejus se monitu, quæ acceptissima Diis essent sacra instituere. Liv. Hist. l. i, c. 19.

⁸ Vid. Plut. Liv. Dionys. Halicarn. ubi sup.

⁹ Diodor. Sic. Hist. lib. i, c. 94.

them must be allowed to be true¹; they pretended to revelations, in order to be better able to manage their people, though in truth no revelations had been made to them. But we cannot say thus of Moses; for Moses did not, after their manner, pretend to his Jews, as Diodorus expresses it², that the god Jao gave him his laws; but he made an open appeal to the senses of all the thousands of them, whether they did not all abundantly know it to be so as well as he. *The LORD our GOD, said he, made a covenant with us in Horeb. The LORD made not this covenant with our fathers, but with us, even us, who are all of us here alive this day. The LORD talked with you face to face in the mount out of the midst of the fire*³. If Moses had only told his Israelites, that their God had appeared to him in private, and given him the laws which he recommended to them; or if he had only related to them a confused account of some signs and prodigies known only to himself, and believed by them upon his reporting them; Moses and the heathen legislators might indeed be compared to one another; but the circumstances of

¹ Ουδε γαρ ατερος λογος εχει τι φανλον, ον περι Λυκωργου και Νεμα και τοιςτων αλλων ανδρων λεγουσιν, ως δυσκαθεκτα και δυσαρεσα πληθη χειριμενοι, και μεγαλας επιφεροντες ταις πολιτειαις καινοτομιας προσεποιησαντο την απο θεου δοξαν, αυτοις εκεινοις προς ους εσχηματιζοντο σωτηριον εσαν. Plut. in Num. p. 62.

² Προσποιησασθαι τας νομους αυτω διδοναι παρα τοις Ιουδαιοις Μωσην τον Ιαω επικαλεμενον θεου. Diodor. Sic. ubi. sup.

³ Deut. v, 2—4.

Moses's administration are of another sort. And as they are so, to say, that Moses could make a camp of above six hundred thousand grown-up men, besides the women and children, believe they heard the voice of GOD out of the midst of the fire⁴, if they did not hear it; that he could, day after day, and week after week, for about forty years together, make them all believe that he gave them bread from Heaven, calling the heads of all their families every day to such a particular method of gathering it, as must make them all intimately acquainted with all the circumstances of it⁵; if all this time he did not really give them bread from Heaven, but only pretended it: to say, that he could in like manner, not once or twice upon an accident, but for the long space of time above mentioned, for near forty years together, upon every movement of the camp, make the whole people believe they saw a miraculous pillar of light directing their marches, or abiding in a cloud of glory upon their tabernacle, when they were not to journey⁶; if all the while no such thing was real, and Moses had only made some artificial beacon, of which the Israelites did not know the contrivance and composition⁷. To say these and other things of a like

⁴ Deut. iv, 11—16.

⁵ See Exod. xvi.

⁶ Exod. xl, 34—38.

⁷ A beacon of this sort is said to have been made and set up over the royal tent in Alexander's army. Quint. Curtius in loc. supra citat. And as Alexander's forces were not at most above thirty-five thousand (See Prideaux, Connect. part i, b. vii) it is conceivable, that such a light might be a useful signal to a

nature, in order to insinuate that the miracles, which attended the Israelites in the wilderness, were like the heathen wonders, pretended only but not real, must be to say the most incredible things in the world. If Moses had been an impostor, he would never have attempted such miracles, nor have been so hardy as to venture his artifices in so open a light, and to daily examination, for so many years together, of so many hundreds of thousands of people; or if he could have been so romantic as to hazard the exposing them to so many, such unlimited and repeated trials, he must have been but a weak and rash man, and consequently come off many times detected and defeated; unless we can think that his Israelites had been a camp of the most careless and inconsiderate people, blindly devoted to receive implicitly whatever he told them they saw, without opening their eyes, or making any trial, whether the things he told them were so or not. But this cannot be pretended, for,

IV. If we look into the conduct of the Israelites, where do we find them disposed to any implicit belief of Moses? Did they not rather examine every thing he offered in the strictest manner; and

camp of that bigness; but the camp of the Israelites consisted of many hundreds of thousands of people, and must have extended itself over many miles of the country, whenever they pitched it; and what one artificial light could have been either formed or managed, consisting of a body of fire of a size sufficient to be seen and recognized in every quarter of so great a nation of people?

endeavour indefatigably to oppose him in every part of his administration? They were but three days passed the Red Sea, before they murmured against him at Marah⁸; and though they were here miraculously relieved by him⁹, yet at Elim they appear to have had but little expectation, that he could lead them any farther¹. When the manna was given, and the particular injunctions communicated for the method of gathering it; what disposition do we find in the people, either to believe what Moses had told them, or obey what he had directed? *They hearkened not unto Moses, but left of the manna until the morning, and it bred worms and stank². And on the seventh day, some of the people went out to gather manna, but they found none³.* At Rephidim, when they wanted water, they were ready to stone him⁴; and though at Sinai the wonders, which were seen and heard there, seemed at first to have made a deep impression, yet it was not long before they were led away by their own imaginations into idolatry⁵. They were dissatisfied at Taberah, even though the miraculous direction of the cloud had led them thither⁶; and so mutinous at Kibroth-hattaavah, that Moses found himself unequal to the labour of bearing up against their oppressions; and begged

⁸ Exod. xv, 22, 24.

⁹ Ver. 25.

¹ Chap. xvi, 3.

² Ver. 20.

³ Ver. 27.

⁴ Chap. xvii, 4.

⁵ Chap. xix, xx, xxiv, xxxii; see book xi, p. 113.

⁶ Numb. xi, i.

to have a number of persons to assist him in endeavouring to promote amongst them a better temper⁷; a work, so far from having a promising appearance, that two of the persons nominated to it would fain have declined it, had they not been encouraged by a miracle to undertake it⁸. When the people came to Kadesh, and might have entered Canaan, how averse were they to every thing which Moses would have directed, though they had the most reasonable application in the world made to them, to induce them to hope for success in their undertaking⁹? But afterwards, when by a most obstinate opposition they had incurred the divine displeasure, and were warned by Moses, that their attempt would surely fail, then nothing could prevent their marching to a defeat from their enemies¹. In the rebellion of Korah, two hundred and fifty princes of the congregation were engaged²; and the defection was so obstinate, that even the miraculous destruction of Korah and all his company could not quell it; but on the morrow, the congregation appeared in a new ferment, and accused Moses and Aaron of having killed the LORD's people³. Fourteen thousand were hereupon taken off by a pestilence, before the camp could be brought into any temper⁴; and another most surprising miracle was wrought before they

⁷ Numb. xi, 14.

⁹ Chap. xiv, 7, 9.

² Chap. xvi.

⁴ Ver. 49.

⁸ Ver. 26.

¹ Chap. xiv.

⁵ Ver. 41.

came to have a due sense of their folly⁵. And now what opposition could the most enterprising of our modern deists have made to Moses, which his Israelites did not make to him; or what measures were omitted, that could possibly have been taken to make the utmost trial of his strength and authority, in every part of his administration? I might add to all this, we never find that Moses had any considerable human confederacy to abet and support him. In their turns, all tribes and orders of his people were hot in opposing him; and his nearest relations, his brother and sister, Aaron and Miriam, whenever they thought they had a pretence for it, were as ready as any others to withstand and condemn him⁶; and were so positive in their contradiction to him, that nothing less than a miracle could silence them⁷. A considerable part of his own tribe headed the fiercest mutiny that was ever raised against him; and can it be thought, after all these things, that if Moses had depended upon artifice, and measures concerted between him and some partizans, to impose upon the people, some or other of these defections would not have brought the secret into open light, and have exposed it to the whole congregation? But instead of this, throughout all his administration, we see an evident series of the clearest miracles openly performed, to give him weight amongst the people; and whenever they either

⁵ Numb. xvii, 1—10.

⁶ Id. xii.

⁷ Ver. 10.

would not attend to him, or conspired to oppose him, then the divine vengeance appeared in support of him, and gave the congregation no other choice, but to obey, or be *consumed with dying*⁸.

V. Will it be here remarked, that Moses did not finish the writing his books, nor order the reading them, until the generation, with whom he had so much opposition, were all in their graves; that perhaps the children of these men being upon the borders of the land of promise, when Moses delivered his books to them, and warmed with hopes of seeing at last an end of all their labours, might be willing not to begin new contests to embarrass their affairs, but for peace and quiet sake even consent to let him give what account he would of what was past, though they might know that the substance of what he wrote was not transacted in the manner recorded by him? I answer; if this were true, should we not have found the Israelites, when Moses was dead and gone, not over fond of paying, and obliging their posterity for ever to pay, a most sacred regard to all that he had left in writing to be transmitted to them? The account, which Moses left of their journeyings in the wilderness, if it was not true in fact, it was a most provoking libel upon every family, except one or two, of the whole people. For how strongly does it represent to them, that their fathers had all been a *stubborn* and a *rebellious generation*; a

⁸ Numb. xvii, 12, 13.

*generation that would not set their hearts aright, nor have their spirit stedfast with God*⁹. At the first entrance upon forming the Jewish polity, the name of every male of twenty years old of the whole people was taken down after their families, by the house of their fathers after their poll¹. And this was again done almost forty years after in the plains of Moab, when all the persons, except four, whose names had been taken in the former poll, were dead²; so that Moses left them a most clear account, of whom every one of them was descended. And the keeping and filling up their genealogies was necessary in their polity, for ascertaining to each family and member of it the inheritance in the land which was severally to belong to them. Can we now think, that under these circumstances they should all agree, to a man, to have Moses record with infamy the immediate father of almost every one of them; that in after-ages, when their posterity should look back unto him who begat them, they might be told they were descended from one, who had been a rebel against their God, and was cut off for his iniquity? The children of Korah were alive when Moses delivered his books; for we have a line of this family continued down from Korah and his son to the times of Solomon³. And is it to be

⁹ See Exodus xxxii, 21; Numb. xiv, 28, 29; xx, 10; Deut. i, 35; ii, 14, 15, 16; Psalm lxxviii, 8.

¹ Numb. i, 2.

² Chap. xxvi.

³ See 1 Chronic. vi, 33—38.

supposed that this family could have suffered an account, so prodigious in all its circumstances, of the rebellion and destruction of Korah and all his company, as that which Moses has given⁴, to go down without contradiction to all posterity, if they had not known that the whole and every circumstance of it had been undeniably true, and notorious to the whole congregation? Men are, I might almost say, born with sentiments of more honour and respect for those of whom they are descended; and it is not to be conceived that a man of such excellent temper, as Moses was of⁵, should offer, or any nation of people receive and adhere to such an account of their ancestors as Moses gave the Israelites, if the truth of what he recorded had not been unquestionably known and confirmed to them all. When Romulus the first king of the Romans became ungracious to his people, and probably fell a sacrifice to some secret conspiracy⁶, though the unsettled state of their infant constitution was not thought strong enough to have the real sentiments, which the senate had of him, laid open to the people, but it was reputed good policy to have an honourable account of him go down to all posterity⁷; yet we do not find, that

⁴ Numb. xvi.

⁵ Chap. xii, 3.

⁶ Vid. Liv. Hist.; Dionys. Halicarn.; Plutarch. in Romul.

⁷ Deum, Dea natum, Regem, Parentemque urbis Romanæ salvere universi Romulum jubent. Pacem precibus exposcunt, uti volens propitius suam semper sospitet progeniem. Liv. lib. i. c. 16.

they took care to give an unalterable sanction to his institutions, or affected to have him thought the sole founder of their polity and religion; but rather, the more amiable prince who succeeded him, had the reputation of completing what Romulus had attempted, and of giving a fulness and perfection to every part of their constitution⁸. Now something of this sort we should have found concerning Moses, if he had died in any disrepute with his people. But instead hereof, after he was gone, the Israelites abundantly testified of him, that his successor was not equal to him⁹. And the generation to whom he had given his books, took the utmost care to perform every part of what he had enjoined¹. It was known among their enemies, that his directions were the rule of all treaties²; and they themselves looked at every event of their wars as a completion of what Moses had foretold³. They fully ratified every thing which he had done⁴, and paid the utmost deference to any private claims, founded upon any thing which he had said⁵. They made all their settlements according to what he had prescribed⁶; and observed of all their acquirements, that they had succeeded in them, according to all that he had recorded⁷. They also warned their posterity,

⁸ Vid. Liv. ; Dionys. Halicar. ; Plutarch in Numa.

⁹ Deut. xxxiv, 10.

¹ Josh. viii, 35.

² Chap. ix, 24.

³ Chap. xi, 20.

⁴ Chap. xii, 6, 7 ; xiii.

⁵ Chap. xiv, 5—15.

⁶ Chap. xx, xxi.

⁷ Chap. xxi, 44, 45 ; xxiii, 14, 15.

that, if ever they departed from doing *all that was written in the book of his law, to turn aside therefrom to the right hand or to the left*⁸, they would surely fall under the displeasure of God, and have all those evils come upon them which he had in such case pronounced against them⁹. Thus there appears all possible evidence, that the men, to whom Moses delivered what he wrote, were so far from having a disbelief or doubt of what he had recorded, that they took most abundant care to have, as I might say, no part of it *fall to the ground*. We do not find that in any one thing they added to it¹, neither did they diminish ought from it²; not even the disadvantageous account he had given of their fathers, as is evident from the appeal of their prophets in succeeding ages to these very facts, recorded by him³.

But I might observe one thing farther respecting Moses: he must have written with a strict regard to truth indeed, when we do not find in him a partiality even to his own character. When the elder Cyrus was about to die, Xenophon represents, that he suggested to his friends the circumstances which had completed the happiness of his life. "I do not remember," says he, "that I have ever aimed at, or attempted, what I did not compass. I have seen my friends made happy by

⁸ Joshua xxiii, 6.

⁹ Ver. 13—16.

¹ Deut. iv, 2; xii, 32; Joshua i, 7.

² Ibid.

³ See Psalm lxxviii; xcv, 9, 10; Ezek. xx, 10—17.

me, and I leave my country in the highest glory, which was heretofore of but little figure in Asia⁴." How natural is this sentiment? What wise man would not wish to close his day after this manner? And is it not obvious, that Moses might, with much truth, have sent his life down to posterity, adorned with many hints of this nature? For how easy had it been for him to have observed to his people to this purpose: "I was born amongst you, when ye were slaves in the land of Egypt: I brought you forth from the house of bondage: I have for forty years supported you in the great wilderness: I have preserved you in all the heats and intestine divisions we have unhappily had amongst us: I have at last conducted you into a part of the country where you are to settle: I am now old, and cannot hope to be much longer with you: but I think myself happy, and can now leave you with joy, having lived to show you, by experience, that you have your settlement in your hands: ye have seen already the success ye may have against your enemies: go on in the way I have opened to you, and ye shall soon triumph over the remainder of them." But, instead of any thing of this sort, Moses records, respecting himself and Aaron, that the LORD had said unto them, *Because ye believed me not, to sanctify me in the eyes of the children of Israel; therefore ye shall not bring this congregation into the land which I*

† Vid. Xenophon. Cyropæd. lib. viii.

*have given them*⁵. He repeats it to them, that he had offended God⁶, turns their eyes from himself to his successor⁷, fully acquaints them that not he, but Joshua, was to lead them into the land⁸; confessing, at the same time, that he had a most passionate desire to conduct their conquests; but that God would not hear him in this matter⁹. Thus Moses, though they who came after him highly extolled him above any of his successors¹; though from the general character, which God had given of him², he might certainly have covered his dishonour in the one only circumstance there ever was to be the cause of it; though surely, if any man ever had whereof to glory, in the many revelations made to him, and the mighty works³ which had been done by him, he might be thought to have had so more abundantly; yet from a most sacred regard to truth, he was after all content to lay himself down numbered with the transgressors. Where now in all history can we find an instance of the like nature? A wise man would not indeed be so vain, as to wish to have a lustre given to his actions, which they will not at all bear; and yet it is natural for an honest man, if he is to be known

⁵ Numb. xx, 12.

⁶ Numb. xxvii, 14; Deut. i, 37; xxxi, 2.

⁷ Deut. xxxi, 7.

⁸ Ibid, ver. 14, &c.

⁹ Deut. iii, 23—27.

¹ Chap. xxxiv, 10.

² Numb. xii, 7.

³ See Numb. xii, 6—8; Deut. xxxiv, 10, 11.

to those who are to come after him, to wish to be seen in the best light ; to desire to have the good, which may be said of him, mentioned as much to his advantage as the cause of truth can fairly admit, and as much of what may be said to his disadvantage not told, as may be omitted concerning him. This was the sentiment of the younger Pliny⁴; and unquestionably Moses would not have treated his own character with a greater rigour, if he had not made it the great principle of his work, to write with all truth a full account of the proceedings of God's dispensations, rather than his own history.

If Moses had not had the direction of an immediate revelation, I do not think he would have left the Israelites any body of written laws ; at least he would never have thought of tying them and their posterity in all ages, whatever changes and chances might happen to their affairs, to so minute and strict an observance of so various and extensive a body of laws, without leaving them at any time a power to add or diminish from them⁵. Lycurgus reformed the Lacedemonian state, and pretended that himself had the direction of Apollo⁶; but he did not venture to give his people a body of written laws for them to live by without variation⁷. If he

⁴ Vid. Plin. Epist. lib. viii, Ep. 38.

⁵ Deut. iv, 2.

⁶ Diodor. Sic. Hist. lib. i, p. 59.

⁷ Νόμος δὲ γεγραμμένος ο Λυκεργος οὐκ ἔδωκεν. Plutarch. in Lycurg. p. 47.

had, the shortness and imperfection of human wisdom would, unquestionably, in a few ages, have appeared throughout any such code, in many particulars contained in it. Of this Lycurgus seems to have been well aware; and therefore in one of his *Rhetræ* recommended it to his people, not to tie themselves down to written laws at all⁹. He thought the affairs of all states subject to such a variety of contingencies, that what could be appointed at one time, might be very improper at another; and that therefore a civil polity would be more stable, which was founded only upon general maxims, with a liberty to direct particulars, as occasion should require, than where a set of laws are composed to be inviolably maintained, minutely to prescribe and limit the incidents of political life⁹. We read of Numa, that whilst he lived, he instructed the Pontifices in all the rites and appointments of his religion; but he was not willing to leave the twelve volumes he had written to the perusal, or for the direction of posterity, but ordered his sacred books to be buried with him¹. Some ages after, the place where they had been buried was accidentally broken up, and the books taken out of the stone chest, in which they had been repositied; and Petilius, the then Prætor, was appointed to peruse them. But he found them so far from being likely to be of service to

⁹ Plutarch. in *Lycurg.* p. 47.

⁹ *Id. ibid.*

¹ *Id. in Numa,* p. 74.

the public, that he made oath to the senate, that the contents of them ought not to be divulged; whereupon a public order passed to have them burned². Philo the Jew remarks, that in all other nations, time and accidents had made many alterations of their laws absolutely necessary; that the Jewish law was the only one on Earth which was not grown obsolete in any of its branches³. The Medes and Persians indeed affected to have the compliment, which they paid their kings⁴, thought to be a real perfection of their laws, that they were to *live for ever*⁵: but their kings, we find, had a power to make decrees⁶, which might defeat the effect, which laws, that altered not, and could not be changed, might have been attended with, whenever an effect not approved of would have been the consequence of any of them. Human foresight cannot at once calculate and provide for all the changes and chances, which must happen in a course of ages to the affairs of a people. And

² Plutarch. in Numa, p. 74.

³ Τα μὲν τῶν ἀλλῶν νομιμα, εἰ τις ἐπὶ τῷ λογισμῷ, διαμυρίας προφασεῖς εὐρησέη κεικνημένα, πολέμοις, ἢ τυραννισίν, ἢ τισὶν ἀλλοῖς ἀββλητοῖς. αὐτοῦ νεωτερισμῷ τύχης κατασκήπτει· πολυλακίς δὲ καὶ τρυφή πλεονασάσα χορηγίαις καὶ περισσiais ἀφδονοῖς, καθέλει νομῆς, τὰ λιαν ἀγαθὰ τῶν πολλῶν φερεῖν ἢ δυνάμενων, ἀλλὰ διὰ κορον ἐξυβρίζοντων· ὑβρις δ' ἀντιπαλὸν νομῶ· τὰ δὲ τῶν μόνων βεβαία, ἀσαλευτά, ἀκραδάντα, καθάπερ σφραγίδι φύσεως αὐτῆς σσημασμένα, μένει παγίως ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἐγγραφὴ μέχρι νυν. Philo de Vita Mosis, lib. i.

⁴ Dan. ii, 4; iii, 9.

⁵ Ch. vi, 8, 15; Esther i, 19.

⁶ See Esther viii, 8; Prideaux, Connect. part i, b. v, ad An. 453.

Moses must have been a weak man, too weak to be the author of the laws he has given us, if he did not know enough of human life to cause him to consider, that how well soever he might estimate the then state and views of his people, yet he could never be sure, but that something very different from what he might form for them, might in time be very proper to become their constitution, in order to attain the political prospects which might arise. But *known unto GOD are all his purposes, from the beginning of the world*⁷; and he can secure them a full effect, as he pleases, even to the end. Now, if it was indeed the purpose of GOD to choose, as Moses represents, the house of Jacob, to be *unto himself a peculiar people*⁸, and to give them a law, by a punctual observance of which they were to be *kept, shut up unto the faith, which should afterwards be revealed*⁹; we may hence open a view of things which will fully account for Moses, under the immediate direction of a revelation from God, appointing to the Israelites all his institutions, and charging them not to turn therefrom, *to the right hand or to the left*¹, until the fulness of time should come².

Some writers inform us that Moses was the first

⁷ Acts xv, 18.

⁸ Exod. xix, 5; Deut. vii, 6; xiv, 2; xxvi, 18.

⁹ Galat. iii, 23.

¹ Deut. xviii, 15—18; John i, 45; Acts iii, 22—24; Gal. iv, 4.

² Deut. v, 32; xxviii, 14; Josh. i, 7, 8,

who ever gave written laws to a people³, and I do not find any thing valid to contradict this opinion; though the abettors of it have made mistakes in their attempts to support it. Justin Martyr cites Diodorus Siculus in favour of it⁴; but Diodorus evidently speaks not of Moses, but of Mneves an Egyptian⁵; for Moses is afterwards mentioned by Diodorus in the same passage, and with such different circumstances, as abundantly show, that Diodorus thought Mneves and Moses were not one and the same person⁶. The learned editor of Diodorus Siculus thinks the word *αγραπτοις*, in the text, should be corrected *εγγραφοις*, and says, the passage is so worded in Justin Martyr's citation of it⁷. If this were the true text of Diodorus, we might gather from him that Mneves taught his people to live by written laws⁸, which would hint that such laws had been in use centuries before the times of Moses; for Mneves can be no other than

³ Joseph. cont. Ap. l. ii.

⁴ In Protreptic. p. 8.

⁵ The same passage is cited by St. Cyril, contr. Julian, l. i. Both Cyril and Justin Martyr cite Diodorus thus: *Μωυσην ανδρα και τη ψυχη μεγαν*; &c. But Diodorus's words are: *Μνευην ανδρα και τη ψυχη μεγαν*. Vid. Diodor. Hist. l. i, p. 59.

⁶ Diodorus says of Mneves, *Τον Μνευην προσποιηθηναι αυτω τον Ερμην δεδωκεναι τετρας, i. e. νομους*. Of Moses he says afterwards, *Παρα δε τοις Ιουδαιοις Μωσην [προσποιησασθαι τετρας νομους αυτω διδοναι] τον Ιαω επικαλεσμενον θεον*. Diodor. ubi sup.

⁷ Vid. Rhodoman. Conjectur. in loc.

⁸ Πεισαι φασι πρωτον εγγραφοις νομοις χρησασθαι τα πληθη τον Μνευην.

Menes, who was Moses's Mizraim, the first planter of Egypt⁹. Mneves lived in the age next after the gods and heroes¹; which was the time of Menes, or Mizraim's life². Mneves had his laws from Hermes or Mercury³, and Hermes or Mercury was the surname of Thoth or Thyoth, who was secretary to Mizraim or Menes⁴. In short, Mneves or Menes may reasonably be thought to be the same name, with only a little difference in writing it. Now, if we allow this, and take Diodorus to suggest, that Mneves taught his people to use written laws, since Menes or Mizraim planted Egypt about A. M. 1772⁵, we shall make written laws to have been in use in Egypt about seven hundred years before the time of Moses; but had they been so, we should unquestionably have found the Greeks forming their states with written laws much earlier than the times when they appear to have had their first notion of them; for the arts and sciences of Egypt found a way into Greece very early⁶; and yet the inhabitants of this country seem to have had no knowledge of written laws until after Homer's time; for, as Josephus has remarked, we find no word in all his poems which signifies a written law; the word *Νομος* having a different sense, wherever it is used by

⁹ See Vol. i, b. iv, p. 183.

² Vol. i, b. i, p. 25.

⁴ Vol. i, b. iv, p. 193.

⁶ Ibid, and vol. ii, b. viii.

¹ Diodor. ubi sup.

³ Diodor. ubi sup.

⁵ Ibid, p. 183.

him⁷. A due consideration of these points must suggest to us, 1. That both Cyril and Justin Martyr mistook the true meaning of Diodorus, in the passage they cite from him. They suppose him to be speaking of Moses; but he was mentioning another person, the first planter and king of Egypt. Accordingly, to accommodate his words to what they thought his intention, they interpolated his text, where he wrote *Μνευην*, Mneves, they wrote *Μωσην*, Moses, and having made this emendation, Moses's law being a written law, forced upon them another, and induced them, where he used the word *αγραπτοις*, unwritten, to imagine he meant *εγγραφοις*, or written, and to cite him, not as he really wrote, but as they falsely judged he had intended. Whereas, 2. Diodorus really meant to remark, that Mneves was the first person who taught the Egyptians the use of laws; but they were *νομοι αγραπτοι*, unwritten laws. The early kings instructed their people by verbal edicts; and Diodorus, in the passage cited, intimates, that this most ancient Egyptian legislator had formed his people in this manner, before the use of written laws was introduced into the world; and he imagines that he had feigned Mercury or Hermes to have given him⁸ what he spake

⁷ Joseph. cont. Apion. l. ii, c. 15; Jos. Barnes, in v, 20; Hymn. ad Apollin.

⁸ Προσποιηθῆναι δ' αὐτῷ τὸν Ἑρμῆν δέδωκεναι τῷ τῷ. The word *δεδωκεναι* here signifies, to dictate to the mind what is to be spoken, as in Mark xiii, 11.

to them, in order to his words having weight among his people⁹; that they might think *a divine sentence* to be *in the lips of their king*¹, and that his mouth transgressed not in the judgments which he delivered to them.

There are some particulars commanded in the law of Moses, which it is evident that Moses, at the time when he enjoined them, knew might be fatal to the welfare of his people, if God did not interpose, and by an especial providence preserve them from what the obeying such commands tended evidently to bring upon them. Of this sort is the law he gave them, for all their males to appear three times in a year before the LORD²; and the command not to sow or till any of their lands, or dress their vineyards, or gather any fruit of them every seventh year³; and if, as some of the learned calculate, the year of Jubilee was a different year from the seventh Sabbatical year⁴, then

⁹ Προς την υπεροχην και δυναμιν των ευρειν λεγομενων της νομης αποβλεψαντα τον οχλον μαλλον υπακυσσεσθαι διαλαβοντας. Diodor. ubi sup.

¹ Prov. xvi, 10.

² Exod. xxiii, 17; xxxiv, 23.

³ Ibid. xxiii, 10, 11; Levit. xxv, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

⁴ The learned have been much divided about the year of Jubilee, whether it was to be kept in the forty-ninth year, which taken inclusively may be called the fiftieth; or whether forty-nine years were to run out, and then the next or fiftieth year was to be the year of Jubilee. Vid. Cleric. Comment. in Levit. xxv; Petav. Rationar. Tempor. part ii, c. 7. And we have so few, and such imperfect accounts of the practice of the Jews, in their observance of this or their Sabbatical years, that

after seven times seven years, on every fiftieth year, they were to have their lands and vineyards

it may be difficult to offer any thing certain upon this subject. The most learned Dean Prideaux thought the text, Levit. xxv, 8—12, to be in favour of the Jubilee year's being the next to the forty-ninth or seventh Sabbatical year. Preface to vol. i, of his Connect. The words of the text are, *Thou shalt number seven Sabbaths of years unto thee, seven times seven years; and the space of the seven sabbaths of years shall be unto thee forty and nine years. Then shalt thou cause the trumpet of the Jubilee to sound on the tenth day of the seventh month, in the day of atonement—And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year—A jubilee shall that fiftieth year be unto you, ye shall not sow, neither reap that which groweth of itself in it.* Levit. xxv, 8—11. We may perhaps come at the true meaning of the text, if we take it, 1. to direct the Israelites to observe, at their due intervals, seven *Sabbatical* years. 2. To remark that a course of seven such years, with the six years of tillage belonging to each of them, duly observed, were to make up the full amount of forty-nine years: *the space of the seven sabbaths of years shall be unto thee forty and nine years*; or to render the Hebrew text verbatim, *the days of the seven sabbaths of years shall be unto thee forty and nine years.* The meaning of which remark will appear, if we allow the text, 3. to suggest to them, that they were to begin the Jubilee year on the tenth day of the seventh month of the forty-ninth, or seventh *Sabbatical* year; *thou shalt cause the trumpet of the Jubilee to sound on the tenth day of the seventh month.* The observance of each *Sabbatical* year was, I imagine, to begin as soon as the sixth year's crop could be got off the ground in the beginning of the seventh year; for the harvest in Canaan fell in the first month. See and compare Joshua iii, 15, with 1 Chron. xii, 15. And when the Israelites had counted the seven times seven years, so as to be in observance of their seventh Sabbath year, then on the tenth day of the seventh month they were to begin a year of Jubilee, only remembering that they were not to reckon the Sabbath year they were then keeping to end upon commencing the Jubilee, for the seven Sabbaths of years were to contain the days of forty-nine years, which they would not have amounted to, if the seventh Sabbath year was to have

lie undressed and uncultivated two years together⁵. The first of these laws obliged them to leave their cities and habitations exposed and without defence to any invaders, who might at such times make incursions upon them ; for at these three times in every year all their males were to come up from all parts of the country into the place where the tabernacle was fixed, before the temple was built⁶, and afterwards to the temple at Jerusalem. The second must, ordinarily speaking, have brought upon them many inconveniences, as it required them to lose at once a whole year's produce of all

been thought finished on the tenth day of the seventh month, upon beginning the Jubilee. 4. As, according to this account, the year of Jubilee did not begin and end with the Sabbatical year; but commenced some months later, and extended a like space of time longer; so it was evidently not any one of the years contained in the seven Sabbaths of years, though it was in part concurrent with the last of them. Accordingly, it is properly styled in the text a fiftieth year, as not being any one of the forty-nine before-mentioned. If what has been offered may be admitted, then, 5. Though the Jubilee year began and ended some months later than a Sabbatical year, yet, as the season for seed time did not come on in Canaan before the fifteenth day of the seventh month was over (see *Levit*, xxiii, 39), the Jubilee year ending as it began, on the tenth day of this seventh month, did not command a year's neglect of harvest and tillage, other than what the Sabbath-year in part concurrent with it enjoined. Only, perhaps, the year of Jubilee obliged them to defer preparing their lands some months longer than a Sabbatical year, not attended with a Jubilee, required; causing them hereby to end every forty-ninth or seventh Sabbatical year, with, as I might say, a greater solemnity.

⁵ *Levit*, xxv, 8—12.

⁶ *Deut*, xvi; 1 *Samuel* i, 3.

their country. And if the Jubilee year was to be kept, as is above hinted, and they were not to sow nor reap in the fiftieth year, when the year immediately foregoing had been a Sabbath year; this, one would think, must have distressed them with the extremities of a famine⁷. Moses had a full sense, that all these evils might attend the observance of these laws. He was well apprized that, as Canaan was an inland country, and his Israelites were to be surrounded with, and open to many foreign nations, it could never be thought agreeable to good policy, three times a year to draw all the males from the frontiers of the land; for what would this be less, than to give every enemy they had so many remarkable and well-known opportunities to enter their coasts without fear of resistance, and to plunder or take possession of them as they pleased? And can it be conceived, that any state or kingdom could be long flourishing, which should be bound by law to expose itself in this manner? But against these fears Moses assured his people, that God would protect them, and sets before them God's promise. *I will cast out the nations before thee, and enlarge thy borders; neither shall any man desire thy land, when thou shalt go up to appear before the LORD thy God thrice in the year*⁸. So that in obeying

⁷ We find a sore famine in Samaria in Elijah's time, from unseasonable weather for three years together, 1 Kings xvii, xviii.

⁸ Exod. xxxiv, 24.

this command, the Israelites were three times a year to expose themselves, contrary to all rules of good policy, in confidence of a marvellous protection of GOD, who had promised to prevent any enemies taking advantage of their so doing. In like manner, Moses answers the objection which would be made to observing the law for the seventh or *Sabbatical* year. *If ye shall say*, says he to them in the name and words of GOD, *What shall we eat the seventh year? Behold, we shall not sow nor gather in our increase: then I will command my blessing upon you in the sixth year, and it shall bring forth fruit for three years*⁹; a most extraordinary produce was promised all over the land, at all times, the year before they were to begin their neglect of harvest and tillage. Now can any one imagine that Moses could ever have thought of obliging the Israelites to such laws as these, if GOD had not really given a particular command about them? Or would the Israelites have been so weak as to obey such pernicious injunctions, if they had not had a sufficient evidence that the commands were of GOD, and that he

⁹ The meaning of the expression *for three years* is explained by what follows, Levit. xxv, 22. *And ye shall sow the eighth year, and eat yet of the old fruit until the ninth year; until the fruits come in, ye shall eat of the old store.* The promise did not mean that the sixth year's produce should last the term of three complete years; but that it should suffice for the seventh year, for the eighth year, and for a part of the ninth year, namely, until the harvest, in the beginning of the ninth year, should bring in the fruits of the eighth year's tillage.

would indeed protect them in their observance of them? Or had they been so romantic, as to have gone into an obedience to keep such institutions as these, if they had not been of GOD, and without an especial providence to protect and preserve them from the consequences which would naturally arise from them? would not a few years trial have brought home to them a dear bought experience of so great a folly? Their enemies would, unquestionably, have many times taken advantage of the opportunities they gave them to enter their country. And a sixth year's crop, no better than ordinary, must have perpetually convinced them the observance of the Sabbatical year was a mere idle fancy, not supported by such a blessing from GOD as they had been told was annexed to it. The Israelites fell indeed into a great neglect of observing their Sabbatical years some centuries before their captivity¹. But it is remarkable, that they thought they had so little colour for this breach of their duty, from any failure of GOD's promise to them, that they looked upon the number of years which their land was to be desolate, when they were carried to Babylon, to be a particular judgment upon them, designed by GOD to answer to the number of the Sabbatical years, which they had not observed². After the captivity, the Jews were more observant of this injunction; as we find

¹ Prideaux, Pref. to Connect. part i.

² 2 Chron. xxxvi, 21.

them keeping their Sabbath years in the times of Alexander the Great; for, upon account of their not tilling their lands in those years, they petitioned him for a remission of every seventh year's tribute³. As to the command for appearing three times in the year before the LORD, we find it practised by the Jews to their very latest times. When Cestius the Roman came against Lydda, he found no men in the city, for they were all gone to Jerusalem, to the feast of tabernacles⁴; and afterwards, when Titus laid siege to Jerusalem, he shut up in it, as it were, the whole Jewish nation, for they were then assembled there to keep the feast of unleavened bread⁵: Josephus, indeed, remarks, that the keeping this feast at the time when Titus came to besiege Jerusalem greatly conduced to conclude the fate of his country⁶; but we should observe, that this did not happen until after our Saviour's time, until the Jews were given up by God, and their city and polity were to be *trodden down of the Gentiles*⁷.

Upon the death of Moses, A. M. 2554, at the beginning of the year, Joshua took the command of the Israelites; and when the days of mourning for Moses were over, he prepared, according to directions which God had given him, to remove

³ Joseph. Antiq. lib. xi, c. 8. Thus they kept their Sabbatical years in the times of the Maccabees, 1 Mac. vi, 49, 53.

⁴ Joseph. de Bello Judaic. lib. ii, c. 19.

⁵ Id. lib. vi, c. 19.

⁶ Id. *ibid*.

⁷ Luke xxi, 24.

the camp, and enter Canaan⁸. But before he began to march, he sent two spies to Jericho, a city over against the camp, on the other side the river Jordan⁹. The spies, when they came to Jericho, went to the house of a woman named Rahab, and lodged there¹. She concealed them from the search which the king of Jericho made for them, and after three days they came back to Joshua, and reported what terror the inhabitants of Canaan² were in upon account of the Israelites. The behaviour of Rahab to the spies was indeed extraordinary, and must at first sight appear liable to objections; for upon what principle could she receive into her house the known enemies of her country, conceal them from the searchers, and dismiss them in safety, contrary to her duty to the public, and allegiance to the king of Jericho? We are told, that she professed herself to know, that the GOD of the Israelites was GOD *in Heaven above, and in Earth beneath*³, and that *the LORD had given them the land*⁴. But we are not informed by the writer of the book of Joshua, whether she collected these things only from having heard, what she mentioned to the spies, how the waters of the Red Sea were dried up, and the kings of the Amorites on the other side of Jordan were conquered and destroyed⁵; or whether

⁸ Josh. i.⁹ Id. ii; 1 Numb. xxii, 1.¹ Josh. ii, 1.² Ver. 2—24.³ Ver. 11.⁴ Ver. 9.⁵ Ver. 10.

GOD had been pleased to give her any special direction to entertain the spies, in obeying which she was to save her family from ruin. However, the book of Joshua is but a short account of what the Israelites did, and of what happened to them whilst they were under the command of their leader of that name; and we may suppose, that many circumstances, attending some facts recorded in it, were perhaps registered by some other hands, and afterwards related more at large in other books which are now lost⁶. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews says of Rahab, that, *By faith she perished not with them that believed not, when she had received the spies with peace*⁷. And if we compare what she did with the actions of other persons mentioned with her by the sacred writer, as influenced by a like faith, we must judge of her, that she had received some command from GOD, and that she acted in obedience to it. *By faith Noah, being warned of GOD of things not seen as yet, moved with fear*⁸, *prepared an ark to the saving of his house*⁹. He received an express revelation, that the world was to perish by water, and was instructed by GOD how he might save himself and family¹. He believed what GOD revealed to him, made an ark in obedience to the orders which were given him, and by thus believing, and acting according to his belief, he

⁶ Joshua x, 13.

⁷ Heb. xi, 31.

⁸ Ver. 7. The word is *εὐλαβήθεις*.

⁹ Ibid.

¹ Gen. vi, 13, 14, &c.

saved himself and family from perishing. In like manner, Rahab undoubtedly was informed of God's will, by some revelation, and acted in obedience to it, or she could not have been an instance of that faith which the inspired writer treats of, in the chapter where she is mentioned. Had she proceeded upon a general report, or had she inquired and been assured, upon the best information, that the people who were about invading her country, had been wonderfully raised up and preserved by the miraculous power of God, and that they were likely to conquer and destroy all who would not submit to them; and been hence induced to think, that it would be prudent for her to ingratiate herself with them, if possibly she might thereby save herself and family from ruin; all this, I think, would not have justified her conduct, but her concealing the spies upon these motives would have been a treachery to her country, and might at last have proved a vain, as well as wicked action; for unless she certainly knew that God designed to give the Israelites possession of Jericho, his having hitherto protected them could be no argument, that they would be enabled to destroy every city which they might have a mind to attack and depopulate. But if the design of God towards the inhabitants of Canaan had been made known to the king and people of Jericho, and he and they had been sufficiently warned to save themselves from the destruction which was coming upon them, if they would not obey, but upon their

refusal, if Rahab believed, and obediently acted according to what was required of her, her whole behaviour will stand clear of every imputation; Now this appears to me to have been her case; *Rahab perished not with them that believed not*²; the Greek words are, not τοῖς ἀπίστοις, *with the unbelievers*, but τοῖς ἀπειθήσασι, that is, *with them who were disobedient*³. But how can the inhabitants of Jericho be said to have been disobedient, if God had required nothing of them? Some sufficient information both they and Rahab must particularly have had, or they could not have been condemned as disobedient, refusing to obey what they were directed to; nor could she have been an instance of one who was saved by her faith, *i. e.* by believing and acting according to the will of God, made known to her. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews suggests nothing which contradicts any fact recorded in Joshua; but by mentioning Rahab's case, it is evident, that there were some circumstances attending it, which in Joshua are not recounted. Admit these circumstances, and her behaviour is clear of every appearance of a crime, nay, it is just and commendable; and the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews needed not to have made Rahab an instance of the faith he was treating of, if he had not sufficient grounds for what he intimates about her; especially when he had so many illustrious patterns

² Heb. ubi sup.

³ 1 Pet. iii, 20.

in his mind, as not to have room particularly to treat about many of them⁴. Thus, after all, what our modern reasoners think they have to insinuate against Rahab, as guilty of a treachery to her country, is but an unjust accusation, founded upon a partial view of the circumstances attending what she did, and the motive she had to do it.

The day after the return of the spies from Jericho, early in the morning, Joshua removed the camp to the banks of Jordan⁵, where they halted for three days⁶. After these three days the proper officers instructed the people how they were to pass the river, according to the directions which God had given⁷; and on the next day the waters of Jordan were miraculously divided; so that the Israelites marched through the channel on dry ground⁸. They were near a whole day in their march through the river, and made their passage through it on the tenth day⁹ of the first month of the year; and it is easy to adjust the particular transactions, mentioned from the beginning of the month unto this tenth day, to the several days to which they belonged. On the first day of the month Joshua sent spies to Jericho, and the king of Jericho ordered a search for them the very night they came thither¹. Rahab, before they went to sleep, conferred with them, and let them down

⁴ Heb. xi, 32.

⁵ Joshua iii, 1,

⁶ Ver. 2.

⁷ Ver. 3, &c.

⁸ Ver. 16, &c.

⁹ Chap. iv, 19.

¹ Chap. ii, 2.

out of the city from the window of her house². They hid themselves in the mountain for three days³, and therefore came to Joshua on the evening of the fourth day. On the fifth day of the month the camp removed from Shittim to Jordan⁴. After three days, or on the ninth day, the officers went through the host⁵ to instruct the people for going over the river, and on the morrow they were to see the wonders which the LORD designed to do among them⁶; and accordingly, on the tenth day of the month, the waters were divided and they passed over Jordan.

When all the people were clean passed over Jordan, God commanded Joshua to send twelve men, one out of each tribe, back to the place, where the priests who bare the ark stood in the midst of the river⁷, and to order each man to take upon his shoulders a stone out of the river, and bring it on shore with him⁸; and on the next day Joshua pitched these stones in Gilgal⁹, for a monument, to perpetuate to future generations a remembrance of the waters of Jordan being miraculously divided for the Israelites marching through the river into Canaan¹. The ninth verse of this chapter seems to intimate, that besides the twelve stones which were pitched in Gilgal, Joshua set up also

² Joshua ii, 8.

⁴ Ch. iii, 1.

⁶ Ver. 5.

⁸ Ver. 5.

¹ Ver. 7, 21—24.

³ Ver. 22.

⁵ Ver. 2.

⁷ Ch. iv, 1—3.

⁹ Ver. 8, 20.

twelve other stones in the midst of the river. The LXX² and the Chaldee Paraphrast took the text in this sense³; but the Syriac⁴ and Arabic translators⁵ thought otherwise; and Josephus seems to have had no notion of any more than one monument set up on this occasion⁶. We read of no command given to Joshua to erect any in the midst of the river; and if he really designed any thing of this nature, what would twelve stones, no bigger than such as a man could carry, have signified, if they had been laid upon one another in the channel? *When the waters of Jordan returned to their place, and flowed over all his banks, as they did before*⁷, such a monument would have been washed away by them. The Hebrew words do indeed imply, that *Joshua set up twelve stones in the midst of Jordan, in the place where the feet of the priests, which bare the ark of the covenant, stood*⁸; but I would submit it to the judgment of the learned, whether a small mistake of ancient copyists may

² Ἐστησε δὲ Ἰησὺς καὶ ἄλλας δωδεκά λίθους ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ, &c. Versio LXX. Græc.

³ Vid. Targ. Jonathan. in loc.

⁴ Lapidēs, inquam, duodecim erexerunt, quos tulerunt e medio Jordanis desub penibus sacerdotum. Versio Syriac. in loc.

⁵ The Arabic version leaves out the ninth verse.

⁶ Vid. Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. i, c. 4.

⁷ Joshua iv, 18.

⁸ The Hebrew words of the text are, Josh. v, 9,

וַשְׁתִּים עֶשְׂרֵה אֲבָנִים הָקִים יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בְּתוֹךְ הַיַּרְדֵּן חֹתַת מַצֵּב רִגְלֵי
הַכֹּהֲנִים נֹשְׂאֵי אֹרֹן הַבְּרִית.

not be supposed to have happened in this passage: *בתוך הירדן* *be tok ha Jarden*, does indeed signify *in the midst of Jordan*; but if the text was originally written, not *בתוך* *be tok*, but *מיתוך* *mittok*, the place will have quite a contrary meaning. The mistake of one single letter, the writing *ב* instead of *מ* before the word *תוך* *tok*, might happen, and escape the correction of the transcribers. And if we make this little emendation, the verse will run thus: *and Joshua set up twelve stones from out of the midst of Jordan, from under the station of the feet of the priests who carried the ark*⁹; and hints only what is repeated more fully towards the close of the chapter, that Joshua set up in Gilgal those twelve stones which were taken up out of Jordan. The words which end this ninth verse, *and they are there unto this day*, were originally no part of the text of Joshua, but rather a remark made in some later age in a MS. of this book. We find several of these in the sacred pages¹, which, having not been duly kept distinct, are handed down to us as if they were indeed part of the text in the places where they are added.

Some modern writers mention the river Jordan as a stream of no very considerable breadth or depth; and from their notion, it may be thought that a miracle could not be much wanted to enable

⁹ If the learned reader thinks the prefix *מ* necessary before the word *תחת*, we may reasonably suppose that the copyist, having made the mistake above mentioned, here dropped this letter.

¹ See Prideaux's Connect. vol. i, b. v.

the Israelites to get over it. Sandys says, that it is “not navigably deep, nor above eight fathoms broad, nor (except by accident) heady².” But I would observe: 1. That the sacred books do constantly represent this river as not fordable, except at some particular places, made probably by art, that the countries on each side the water might have a communication. Thus the spies, who were sent by Joshua to Jericho, when pursued by the searchers, are not represented to have found any way to return to the camp but by the fords of Jordan³. In like manner when Ehud and the Israelites had taken the fords of Jordan, not a man of the Moabites could pass the river⁴. And thus the Gileadites entrapped the Ephraimites. They took the passages of Jordan, and then the fugitives of Ephraim, having no way to get over the river, fell into their hands⁵. Elijah passed over Jordan with Elisha, near the place where the Israelites entered Canaan⁶, and Elisha repassed it when Elijah was taken from him; but a miracle was wrought by both of them in order to their getting over⁷, which undoubtedly they neither would have attempted, nor would God have enabled them to perform, if they could have passed over in that place without it. But, 2. We have modern testimonies sufficient to refute any one who should imagine that the river Jordan had

² Sandy's Travels, b. iii, p. 141.

⁴ Judges iii, 28.

⁶ 2 Kings ii, 4, 5, 7, 8, 13, 15.

³ Josh. ii, 2.

⁵ Chap. xii, 5.

⁷ Ibid.

been an inconsiderable stream, easily forded in any part of it. Sandys took his view of it at a place where, in length of time, the channel was landed up, and the flow of water nothing so great as it had been in former ages⁸. Thevenot went to or near the place where the Israelites passed over, and describes it to be “ deep, half as broad as the Seine at Paris, and very rapid⁹ ;” and, according to Maundrell, the river is hereabouts “ twenty yards over within its channel, deeper than a man’s height, and runs with a current, that there is no swimming against it¹.” But whatever be the now state of the river Jordan, how obvious is it,

3. That all the parts of our globe are liable to great alterations, and the course of rivers admit of many changes in the revolutions of ages. Jordan was a much larger river than it now is, when the Israelites came into Canaan. In Pliny’s time it filled a larger channel than it now runs in²; and when Strabo wrote, vessels of burden were navigated in it³. But, 4. *Jordan overfloweth all his banks all the time of harvest*⁴; and the time of harvest was in this first month, when the Israelites entered Canaan⁵. Maundrell observes, that upon

⁸ Sandy’s Travels, p. 197.

⁹ Thevenot’s Travels, p. 193.

¹ Journey from Aleppo, p. 83.

² Amnis, quatenus patitur locorum situs, ambitiosus. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. v, c. 19.

³ Vid. Strab. Geogr. lib. xvi, p. 755.

⁴ Josh. iii, 15; 1 Chron. xii, 15; Eccclus. xxiv, 26.

⁵ See 1 Chron. xii, 15.

this flow of Jordan, the waters had anciently covered a large strand, and washed up to an outer bank about a furlong from the common channel⁶. At this time there could be no passing it, and therefore the Israelites being now able to get over was very extraordinary; and it is no wonder, that when the kings of the Amorites, on the west side of Jordan, and all the kings of the Canaanites by the sea, heard how the waters were dried up from before the children of Israel, their heart melted, and there was no spirit in them⁷; because, whatever might have been attempted when the river ran in its ordinary channel, the passage of the Israelites was at the time of a known and annual flood, when the waters flowed to a great height, and an attempt to get over them was, naturally speaking, impossible.

After the Israelites were over the river, Joshua encamped at Gilgal, on the east side of Jericho, where God directed him to revive the rite of circumcision⁸; for the Israelites had circumcised none of their children who were born after the exit out of Egypt, until this time⁹. What occasioned this neglect is not said expressly, but it is easy to guess. The covenant which the Israelites made with God in Horeb, was to do and observe all the things which the Lord should command

⁶ Maundrell's Journey from Aleppo, ubi sup.

⁷ Josh. v, 1.

⁸ Ver. 2.

⁹ Ver. 5, 7.

them¹, and they were to be strictly careful not to make any thing a rite of their religion, which the LORD commanded them not². Therefore, though GOD had ordered Abraham to circumcise himself and children, and to enjoin his posterity to use this rite, yet when God was giving the Israelites a new law, in the manner which he now did by the hand of Moses, I think they could not warrantably take any rite, how ancient or usual soever, as a part of it, unless GOD himself gave them a command for it. GOD indeed had given them a command for circumcision; for we find it among the laws given after the death³ of Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, who were killed by fire from the LORD, for offering incense in a manner which he commanded them not⁴. This incident must have admonished the whole camp to be careful to obey GOD's voice, and not mingle their own fancies in the performance of any of his institutions; and the vengeance, which had so lately fallen upon the two sons of Aaron, seems to have given them a due caution in this matter. Though the Passover was a feast, which they were commanded to keep to the LORD throughout their generations, by an ordinance for ever⁵; yet we see they did not attempt their second celebration of it, without an express command from GOD for it⁶, nor venture to

¹ Exod. xix, 8; xxiv, 3, 7; Deut. v, 27; xxvi, 17.

² See book xi, p. 165.

³ Levit. xii, 3.

⁴ Chap. x, 1.

⁵ Exod. xii, 14.

⁶ Num. ix, 1, 2, 3.

proceed in a case of doubt, which arose about the men who were defiled by the dead body of a man, but stood still, until Moses heard what the LORD would command concerning them⁷. In like manner, as the law for circumcision required the males to be circumcised at eight days old⁸; and was not given until within the second year of the exit, when there must have been in the camp great numbers of children uncircumcised, who were past the day of age, at which this rite was appointed to be performed, great matter of doubt must have arisen, when or how these were to be put under the law; and the Israelites not receiving directions from GOD how to proceed herein, was, I think, the reason that they stood still in this matter. The critics and annotators abound in assigning reasons for the omission of circumcision, in which the Israelites had lived hitherto⁹, but I think they are not happy in assigning the true one. We find no fault imputed to the Israelites for their neglect of it; and GOD now *rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off* them¹; so that the Israelites had long esteemed it a reproach to them, that they did not practise this rite; but their misfortune was, GOD had not yet given them orders how or when to begin it, and therefore they were forced to live in an omission of it. Some writers misunderstand the expression here made use of. A state of un-

⁷ Numb. ix, 6, 7, 8.

⁸ Levit. xii, 3.

⁹ Vid. Pool. Synops. Critic. in loc.

¹ Josh. v, 9.

circumcision is called the reproach of Egypt; that is, say they, the Egyptians thought it a reproach to them who lived in it. It is indeed necessary to take the words in this sense, if we would infer from them, that circumcision was originally an Egyptian rite, and that the Hebrews learned from them the use of it. This is indeed a favourite point with these writers, but I have already proved that it had no foundation²; and I would here observe, that the true meaning of the expression, the reproach of Egypt, is directly contrary to the sense which these writers would give to it. My reproach, my shame, my dishonour³, do all signify, not what I may have to impute to others, but what others may object to me. In like manner, reproach of Egypt, or Egyptian reproach, signifies not what the Egyptians might think a disrepute to others, but what other nations esteemed a blemish and defect in them. We find an expression of like import thus used by one of the most elegant classics. The swallow is said to be, unhappy bird,

. : Cecropiæ domûs
 Æternum opprobrium⁴,

the everlasting reproach of the house of Cecrops, not as hinting any thing, for which the descendants of Cecrops might reproach others; but on

² See vol. i, book v, p. 293.

³ Gen. xxx, 23; 2 Sam. xiii, 13; Psal. lxxix, 19.

⁴ Hor. Carm, lib. iv, ode xii.

account of facts, which were a lasting dishonour to this family. Not the Egyptians, therefore, at this time, but the Israelites, thought uncircumcision a disreputable thing, and accounted all nations profane, who did not use this institution ; and the Egyptians at this time not observing this rite, this, in the esteem of the Israelites, was their reproach, was a thing opprobrious, or a disgrace to them. Therefore, when God here appointed the Israelites to be circumcised, he rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off them ; he removed from them that state of uncircumcision, which they thought an infamous defect in the Egyptians. It may be here queried, whether the Egyptians could at this time be an uncircumcised nation, if, as I have formerly supposed, they received the rite of circumcision very near as early as the times of Abraham⁵. But I think an answer hereto is not difficult. The Pastors over-ran Egypt some time before the birth of Moses, and overturned the ancient establishment in those parts which they conquered⁶; and many points, both of the policy and religion of Egypt, were neglected by them. These Pastors were, I think, the Horites, who fled from the children of Esau out of the land of Edom⁷. They were an uncircumcised people : and as they took all methods they could think proper, when they had got possession of the land, to oppress the an-

⁵ See vol. i, b. v, p. 293.

⁶ Vol. ii, b. vii, p. 205, ad fin. 8, in Just.

Vol. ii, b. vii, p. 208.

cient inhabitants, and to establish themselves, it is not likely they should pay so much regard to the institutions of the Egyptian religion, as once to think of submitting to a rite, the operation of which would for a time disable them for war, and give the Egyptians an opportunity to attack and destroy them⁹. Here, therefore, we may suppose a neglect of circumcision introduced among the Egyptians. The Israelites were in Egypt before these Pastors invaded the land, and though they suffered great oppressions from their tyranny⁹, yet they did not, in compliance with these their new masters, part with this rite of their religion, and it might, in their opinion, be a matter of particular reproach to the Egyptians, that they had not only fallen under the power of foreign conquerors, but in compliance to them had altered and corrupted their religion. There are two points to be remarked upon the revival of circumcision by Joshua. The one, that the Israelites must hereupon have a convincing demonstration, that all their fathers were to a man dead, against whom God had denounced, that their carcasses should fall in the wilderness¹; for upon this renewal of circumcision, none having been circumcised from the time of the exit until now², it became evident how many of the

⁸ The Shechemites were destroyed by the sons of Jacob, when they were sore, after having been circumcised. Gen. xxxiv, 25.

⁹ Vol. ii, b. vii, p. 211.

¹ Numb. xiv.

² Josh. v, 5.

camp had been in Egypt, and by computing the age of those who had been there, it would appear, that there were no persons then alive, except Caleb and Joshua, who were twenty years old, when the poll was taken in the year after the exit³. The other point is, that as the Israelites were now in an enemy's country, in the neighbourhood of a powerful and populous city, and could not be secure any one day, that the Canaanites might not attempt to march against them; if God had not required it, Joshua could never have thought this a proper time to disable⁴ any part of the camp by circumcising them, and therefore that he most certainly had a command from God for what he did in this matter.

On the fourteenth day of the month at even, the Israelites kept the Passover in the plains of Jericho⁵, and on the fifteenth day, they began the feast of unleavened bread⁶, according to the orders they had received for keeping it⁷. As it was now wheat harvest in the land of Canaan, they reaped of the corn, which was ripe in the fields, and made their unleavened cakes with it⁸, and God having now brought them into the country where provisions were plentiful, the miraculous food, which he had hitherto given them, ceased; for on the sixteenth day, and from thence forwards, there fell no

³ Numbers xxvi, 64, 65.

⁴ See Gen. xxxiv, 25.

⁵ Josh. v, 10.

⁷ See Levit. xxiii, 6.

⁶ Ver. 11.

⁸ Josh. v, 11.

manna⁹. The commentators suggest a difficulty in determining what produce of the land the Israelites made use of. They remark, that the sheaf of the first fruits of the harvest was to be waved before the LORD, and a day set apart for the waving it, and performing the offerings which were to attend it, before it was lawful to eat of the fruits of the ground¹, and the Israelites not having performed this injunction, they contend that they used in their feast of unleavened bread, not of the corn then growing and ripe in the fields, but rather of corn of a former year's produce². Our translators favour this opinion, and render the place, *They did eat of the old corn of the land*: and Drusius and Bonfrerius thought they could conjecture, how a sufficient supply of such old corn might be had for them³. Drusius imagines, that they found corn dealers to buy it of; Bonfrerius, that they seized upon stores of corn laid up by the Canaanites. But, 1. It seems far more reasonable to imagine, that the Israelites reaped the crop, which the fields before them afforded, than that they should either find stores sufficient in the plains of Jericho, or merchants, who either could or would produce enough for the occasions of such a numerous hostile army. 2. It does not appear, that the observance of the wave-sheaf offering, was to commence immediately upon their entrance into the land. I rather think they

⁹ Josh. v, 12.

¹ Levit. xxiii, 10.

² Vid. Pool. Synops. in loc.

³ Ibid.

began this performance upon the first harvest from their own tillage ; which seems to have been Josephus's opinion, for, 3. He expressly asserts, that the Israelites had reaped and used the crop they found ripe and standing in the fields of Canaan⁴. 4. None of the ancient versions favour what our translators hint, that the Israelites used here the old corn of the land. Nor, 5. do the words of Joshua at all suggest it. It is indeed a common remark of the critics, that the Hebrew word מנביר *menabur*, here used, being derived from the verb, *nabar*, to pass, must necessarily signify the crop, not of the present, but of the past year ; but as this word occurs, I think, nowhere in the Bible, but in the passage before us, it is not so easy to be certain of its signification. The verb *nabar* not only signifies to pass, but in the conjugation *pihel*, to cause to be big with young. It is thus used in the book of Job⁵ ; and by a metaphor authorized by Tully⁶ in a Latin word of this signification, [*nibber*] may express to cause the Earth to be impregnated or loaden with corn, and *menabur*

⁴ Josephus's words are : Και την Φασκα εορταζον εν εκεινω τω χωριω, παντων, ων αυτοις προτερον συνεβαινε σπανιζειν, τατε ραδιως ευπορευτης, τον τε γαρ σιτον ακμαζοντα ηδη Χαναναιων εδεριζον. Antiq. lib. v, cap. iv.

⁵ Job xxi, 10.

⁶ Tully thus uses the word *gravidata*. He says, Quod si ea, quæ a terra stirpibus continentur, arte naturæ vivunt et vigent ; profecto ipsa terra eadem vi continetur et arte naturæ, quippe quæ, *gravidata seminibus*, omnia pariat, et fundat ex sese. De Nat. Deorum, lib. ii, c. 33.

may be a noun derived from the participle of this conjugation, and signify the burden or crop upon the ground; and the suggestion of the Israelites using old corn of a year's growth, will thus appear to have no foundation in the Hebrew text at all.

Upon the Israelites encamping on the plains of Jericho, the inhabitants of that city shut up their gates, and kept close within their walls⁷. The cities of the Canaanites were encompassed with walls so high, as to be said to be fenced up to Heaven⁸; and men had not yet invented proper engines of war for the assaulting such towns, so as to get possession of them. We shall find, ages after these times, cities impregnable to the greatest armies, by the strength and height of their walls. The city of Troy could never have been taken by the Greeks without a stratagem, and Joshua was obliged to invent an artifice, in order to gain entrance into Ai⁹. The men of Jericho, having shut up their city, might reasonably think themselves secure from the Israelites; and Joshua and his army could have no hopes of reducing them, except by starving them into a surrender, unless they could allure them to make sallies, and thereby get an opportunity of beating back their forces to the city, and entering with them. But here the LORD appeared unto Joshua, in the form of a man, with a drawn sword in his hand¹. The person, who

⁷ Josh. vi, 1.

⁸ Deut. ix, 1.

⁹ Josh. viii.

¹ Chap. v, 13.

now appeared, called himself the prince, or leader, or *captain of the host of the LORD*², a very proper appellation for that divine person, who had frequently appeared unto *Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Moses; for the LORD of Hosts is his name*³, is one of his titles. That the person, who at this time appeared to Joshua, was not an angel, but this GOD of Israel, seems evident from the worship which Joshua paid him⁴, and from his requiring the same regard to be had to his presence, as he before demanded from Moses, when he called himself the GOD of Abraham, the GOD of Isaac, and the GOD of Jacob⁵. Accordingly, Joshua gives him the incommunicable⁶ name of GOD, calling him JEHOVAH, in his relation of what he said to him⁷. He told Joshua, that he had given Jericho into his hand, and the king thereof, and the mighty men of valour⁸; he instructed him what he required of the Israelites, to express their reliance on his promise⁹. When they had for seven days marched round Jericho in the manner which the LORD had directed, the walls of Jericho, without any assault, fell down flat upon the ground; then they entered the town and sacked it, and put all the inhabitants, man, woman, and child, to the sword, except Rahab and her family,

² Joshua v, 14.

³ See Jer. x, 16.

⁴ Joshua v, 14.

⁵ Ibid, 15; Exod, iii, 5, 6.

⁶ See vol. ii, b. ix; Isa. xiii, 8.

⁷ Josh. vi, 2.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ver. 3, 4, 5.

and destroyed all the cattle, and burnt the city; only the silver and gold, and the vessels of brass and iron, they reserved, according to the directions which had been given them¹. Joshua then pronounced that man to be accursed, who should ever attempt to rebuild Jericho, and prophesied, that he should *lay the foundation thereof in the first-born, and in his youngest son set up its gates*². This prophecy was remarkably fulfilled above five hundred years after in the days of Ahab; for in his days Hiel the Bethelite built Jericho, and his eldest son Abiram died, when he laid the foundations, and his youngest son Serug died at his setting up the gates³. The taking of Jericho was much noised throughout all the country⁴, and the Israelites prepared to attack Ai, a neighbouring city, but the detachments appointed for this service were entirely routed⁵. Whereupon Joshua and the elders of Israel consulted God, and were informed, that a transgression had been committed in the sacking of Jericho, for which they suffered this punishment⁶; and upon inquiry, Achan the son of Carmi, of the tribe of Judah, was found to be the transgressor, and he and his family were condemned to death, and his substance burned in the valley of Achor. After this exemplary punishment of Achan's transgression, the Israelites soon took Ai, and destroyed all the inhabitants of it,

¹ Josh. vi, 16—25.

² 1 Kings xvi, 34.

³ Chap. vii, 5.

⁴ Ver. 26.

⁵ Josh. vi, 27.

⁶ Ver. 6—11.

and took the cattle and spoil of the city for a prey unto themselves, according to the word of the LORD, which he commanded Joshua⁷.

Moses had enjoined, that when they should have passed over Jordan, they should set up on Mount Ebal great stones, and plaster them with plaster, and write the law upon them⁸; and they were to build an altar there unto the LORD their God, and to offer burnt-offerings and peace-offerings, and to celebrate a feast unto the LORD⁹. They were also to divide the people, and to place six of the tribes on Gerizim, a mountain opposite to Ebal, and six on Mount Ebal; and then the Levites from Mount Ebal were to read, with a loud voice, the curses set down by Moses for the transgressions of the law¹, unto each of which the people were to answer Amen². Then the blessings promised to the observance of the law were to be pronounced from Mount Gerizim³; and hereby the Israelites were to acknowledge their covenant with the LORD their God, and their obligation to keep his commandments⁴. Joshua being now come to the place where these two mountains were situate, took care to have every part of what God had commanded herein punctually performed⁵.

⁷ Josh. vii, 11—26; viii. 1—29.

⁸ Deut. xxvii, 2, 3, 4.

² Ver. 5, 6, 7.

¹ Ver. 12, 13.

³ Ver. 14, &c.

³ Chap. xxviii.

⁴ Chap. xxvii, 9, 10.

⁵ Josh. viii, 30—35.

It may not seem at first sight easy to determine, what it was that Joshua here wrote upon the stones, which he set up on Mount Ebal. The Samaritans, indeed, if what they assert might be admitted, determine the question very clearly; for in their Pentateuch, in the xxth chapter of Exodus, after the tenth commandment, they add these with other words; *And it shall be when the LORD thy GOD shall cause thee to enter the land of the Canaanites, which thou goest unto, to possess it, that thou shalt set up great stones, and shalt plaster them with plaster, and shalt write upon the stones all the words of this law, &c.* According to this account, the command for what was here to be done, was originally given in an audible voice by GOD himself, from Mount Sinai to all the people; and what Moses directed about it afterwards, must be understood with reference, and agreeably to what GOD himself here first commanded about it. Accordingly, the command here given being, that the Israelites should write upon the stones all the words of this law, namely, of the law just then published (for there had then been no other as yet given), it will follow, that the Decalogue, or Ten Commandments, was what they were to inscribe upon the stones to be erected. This would unquestionably be the fact, if what the Samaritans here insert in their Pentateuch ought to be admitted; but that it ought not is most evident; for Moses himself expressly testifies, that when GOD spake the Ten Command-

ments out of the midst of the fire⁶ from Mount Sinai unto the assembly of the Israelites, he spake only the Ten Commandments, and added no more; and consequently, all that the Samaritans add here is a manifest interpolation. And it is a known imputation, which the Jews have ever charged them with, that they have tampered with this place, as well as changed the names of the two mountains, Ebal and Gerizim, putting Gerizim where Moses wrote Ebal, and Ebal where Moses wrote Gerizim⁷, in order to procure such a veneration to Mount Gerizim, as might favour their choosing it in opposition to the Jews for their place of worship. Thus we have no information from the Samaritan Pentateuch, about what Joshua inscribed, or was directed to inscribe, upon the stones set up on Mount Ebal. The Jewish writers abound in fictions upon this point; some of whom say, that Joshua inscribed the whole five books of Moses; nay, they add, that he did it seventy times over, in seventy different languages, in order to leave such monuments as might instruct all the nations upon Earth in the law, and that in their own tongue. Thus these writers were so far from seeing any difficulty in the query, which to others has seemed considerable; namely, whether Joshua could find either stones to contain, or had time enough to inscribe so large a transcript, as a copy

⁶ Deut. v, 22.

⁷ See Prideaux's Connect. part i, b. vi.

of the whole five books of Mose, that they show evidently, that nothing can be so marvellous but their imagination can surmount it. If seven hundred, or seven thousand, had been as favourite a number with them as seventy, they would have had no scruple of multiplying the copies up to their humour. But seventy being the number of the elders of Israel chosen by Moses, and appointed by GOD to assist in the government of his people⁸, they hence imagined that there were originally, from the dispersion of mankind, but seventy nations, and seventy different languages in the world; though considering that Moses and the high-priest, joined with the seventy, made two more, they should have made seventy-two their darling number, as it was afterwards, when Aristeas's fiction about the Septuagint translation of the Hebrew Scriptures obtained amongst them⁹. *Moses with the elders of Israel commanded the people, saying, keep all the commandments which I command you this day; and it shall be on the day, when ye shall pass over Jordan . . . , that thou shalt set thee up great stones, and plaster them with plaster, and thou shalt write upon them all the words of this law—*. This was the command which Moses gave about what they were to do at Mount Ebal; and I have often thought, that all the words of this law might be the words of the law which he at that

⁸ Numbers xi.

⁹ See Prideaux's Connect. part ii, book i.

time gave them ; namely, the words which Moses has set down in the xxviith and xxviiiith chapters of Deuteronomy, beginning at the 15th verse of the xxviith chapter, *cursed be the man*, and so on to the end of the xxviiiith chapter. That this was what Joshua wrote, and consequently what Moses had enjoined to be written, seems evident to me from the account we have of Joshua's performance¹ of this commandment. *Joshua built an altar unto the LORD GOD of Israel, in Mount Ebal . . . an altar of whole stones . . . , and he wrote there, upon the stones, in the presence² of the people (mishneh torath Moseh), i. e. a copy of the law of Moses, certainly not a copy of all the statutes of the Jewish law ; for the stones of the altar could not be sufficient to contain such a large body of institutions ; rather he wrote the several curses and blessings which Moses had charged to be here pronounced to the people³. This appears to have been the fact from the 34th verse. Joshua, after he had written the law, read what he had written, *all the words of the law* : and what he read was only, *the blessings and cursings, according**

¹ Joshua viii, 30—32.

² The Hebrew text is,

וַיִּכְתֹּב-שָׁם עַל-הָאֲבָנִים אֶת מִשְׁנֵה תּוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה אֲשֶׁר כָּתַב לִפְנֵי בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל.

i. e. And he wrote there upon the stones a copy of the law of Moses, which he (*i. e.* Joshua) wrote (we should say in English, and he wrote it) before the faces (in the presence) of the children of Israel.

³ Deut. xxvii, 11, &c.

to all that is written in the book of the law⁴; so that he transcribed only the several blessings and curses which Moses had recorded; these he copied out from the book of the law, and wrote upon the stones *mishneh*, a copy or duplicate of them. As to the opinion of some writers, that Joshua might perhaps inscribe, not indeed all the law of Moses, but an abstract or compendium of it (the heads or titles say others), the account we have of what Joshua wrote does not favour any such conjectures. He copied from the book of the law the several blessings and cursings, which were here to be pronounced. The transcript of these is said to be *a copy of the law of Moses*; and so it was, as far as the particular case in which they were here concerned obliged them to take a copy of it.

The success of the Israelites against Jericho and Ai alarmed the neighbouring nations of Canaan, and caused them to form a confederate army for their common safety⁵; but the Gibeonites, who were a people of the Hivites⁶, declined the association, and sent ambassadors to Joshua, and by a stratagem obtained a league with Israel⁷. Joshua and the elders of Israel appear to have treated unadvisedly with this people, for they *asked not counsel* about them *at the mouth of the LORD*⁸. And it may be questioned whether the treaty with them was not directly contrary to what God had

⁴ Joshua viii, 34.

⁵ Chap. ix, 1, 2.

⁶ Chap. xi, 19.

⁷ Ver. 4—15.

⁸ Ver. 14.

commanded; for with some particular nations, of one of which these Gibeonites were a people⁹, God had strictly commanded them, to *smite them, and utterly destroy them, and make no covenant with them, nor show mercy unto them*¹. In like manner there are doubts to be raised concerning the Israelites' performance of what they had promised. When they came unto the cities of this people, they *smote them not, because the princes of the congregation had sworn unto them by the LORD God of Israel*². They apprehended that they might *not touch them, because of the oath* which they had sworn *unto them*³; and yet one would think, that they did not truly keep the public faith which they had given; for though they did indeed let the Gibeonites live, yet they did not perform this promise in the public sense in which they seem to have treated with this people. They took from them the very being of a nation; reduced them to a state of servitude, which a brave and valiant people would probably have died a thousand deaths rather than have submitted to⁴. These and other reflections, which naturally arise from what the book of Joshua offers us upon this affair, would induce us to inquire, whether the Israelites were absolutely commanded utterly to destroy all the inhabitants of the seven nations of Canaan; whe-

⁹ Exod. xxxiv, 12, &c.

¹ Deut. vii, 2.

² Joshua ix, 18.

³ Ver. 20.

⁴ Libertatem (says Caius Manlius in Sallust. lib. de bello Catilinar.) quam nemo bonus nisi cum vita simul amittit.

ther they could upon no terms enter into a league with any of them; whether what the Israelites granted to the Gibeonites upon their embassy, was contrary to what God had commanded; and how they at last acquitted themselves of the league they had made with them.

I. Were the Israelites absolutely commanded to destroy all the inhabitants of the nations, whose lands God had given them for an inheritance? I answer, no. The direction to the Israelites was this: *when thou comest nigh unto a city to fight against it, then proclaim peace unto it: and it shall be, if it make thee an answer of peace, and open to thee, then it shall be that all the people that is found therein, shall be tributaries unto thee, and shall serve thee*⁵. Thus the Israelites were to behave unto all cities; unto the cities of the Hittites, of the Amorites, of the Canaanites, of the Perizzites, of the Hivites, of the Jebusites, and of the Girgashites⁶; as well as unto the cities of other nations, as is intimated from what follows. *If, says Moses, it will make no peace with thee, but*

⁵ Dent. xx, 10, 11.

⁶ Trinas (says Rabbi Samuel Ben Nachman) præmisit Josua epistolas in terram Israeliticam, seu potius litteris tria proposuit; qui fugam mallent, aufugerent; qui pacem, in fœdus venirent; qui bellum, arma susciperent. Unde Girgesæi credentes in Deum O. M. aufugerunt, in Africam se conferantes—Gibeonitæ in fœdus veniebant, adeoque terræ Israeliticæ incolæ manebant; reges triginta ac unus bellum susceperunt, et cecidere. Gem. Hierosolym.; vid. Selden de Jure Nat. et Gentium, juxta disciplin. Hebræor. lib. vi, c. 13, p. 736.

*will make war against thee, then thou shalt besiege it ; and when the LORD thy GOD hath delivered it into thy hands, thou shalt smite every male thereof with the edge of the sword. But the women and the little ones, and the cattle, and all that is in the city, even all the spoil thereof, thou shalt take unto thyself—Thus shalt thou do unto all the cities which are very far off from thee, which are not of the cities of these nations. But of the cities of these people, which the LORD thy GOD doth give thee for an inheritance, thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth. But thou shalt utterly destroy them, namely, the Hittites, and the Amorites, the Canaanites, and the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites, as the LORD thy GOD hath commanded thee*⁷. In these verses Moses directs the Israelites how they were to behave towards the cities of their enemies, which should attempt to hold out against them. And they were ordered to use a severity towards the nations of the land of their inheritance, if they refused peace, greater than towards the cities of other nations for the like obstinacy ; which there had been no room to enjoin, if these nations were to have been utterly destroyed, without any offers of peace to be made

⁷ Deut. xx, 12—17, Our present Hebrew copies seem to have omitted the Girgashites, who were one of the seven nations that were to be destroyed ; see Deut. vii. The Samaritan text supplies this defect in this place, and gives us the seven nations in this order, the *Canaanites, and the Amorites, and the Hittites, and the Girgashites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites.*

to them. But the Israelites were to proclaim peace to all the cities of their enemies, and whatever city accepted the offer, the inhabitants of it were to become their servants. But if the peace thus offered was refused, then, if the city which rejected it was not one of the land of their inheritance, the Israelites, as soon as they had reduced it, were to put all the men to the sword, and to spare the women and little ones and cattle, and to take the spoil. Or, if it was a city of the land of their inheritance which had rejected their offers, then, as soon as they could reduce it, they were utterly to destroy all the inhabitants, and to save alive nothing that breathed belonging to it. That this is indeed the true meaning of what Moses directs is confirmed from a remark of Joshua, who observes, that as God had purposed utterly to destroy the nations of Canaan⁸, so he did not dispose any of them to accept of peace from the Israelites, in order to their preservation. *There was not, says he, a city that made peace with the children of Israel, save the Hivites the inhabitants of Gibeon; all other they took in battle, for it was of the LORD⁹, to harden their hearts¹, that they should*

⁸ See Wisdom xii, 3.

⁹ I cannot but observe how closely the reflection of Joshua here is copied by Homer. In all the evils that came upon the Greeks from the difference between Achilles and Agamemnon, Homer says, Διὸς δ' ἐτελεῖτο βλάβη. Il. i.

¹ I have formerly observed in the case of Pharaoh, what is the true meaning of the Scripture expression, *of the LORD's hardening any one's heart*. See vol. ii, book ix.

*come against Israel in battle, that he might destroy them utterly, and that they might have no favour, but that he might destroy them, as the LORD commanded Moses*². Cunnæus comments upon this text very justly to this purpose: “It is plain,” says he, “from hence, that these nations were therefore extirpated, because they chose rather the chance of war, than to accept the terms which the Israelites could offer them. But, if they would have surrendered when summoned, undoubtedly they had not been destroyed”³.”

There is a passage in the book of Deuteronomy, which may seem to intimate that these nations of Canaan were absolutely to be destroyed by the Israelites, without any terms of favour or mercy. *When the LORD thy GOD, says Moses, shall bring thee into the land, whither thou goest to possess it, and hath cast out many nations before thee, the Hittites and the Girgashites, and the Amorites, and the Canaanites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites, seven nations greater and mightier than thou. And when the LORD thy GOD shall deliver them before thee, thou shalt smite them and utterly destroy them, thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor shew mercy unto them*

² Joshua xi, 19, 20.

³ Enimvero illud hinc efficitur, deletas propterea eas Gentes esse, quia belli fortunam tentare, quam conficere pacem in Israelitarum leges maluerunt. Quod si fecialibus auscultassent, utique jam salus eorum neutiquam in dubio fuisset. Cunnæus de Repub. Hebræor. lib. ii, c. 20.

..... *But, thus shall ye deal with them: Ye shall destroy their altars, and break down their images, and burn their graven images with fire* *And thou shalt consume all the people which the LORD thy GOD shall deliver thee, thine eye shall have no pity upon them*⁴. I would observe upon this text, that it is a direction to the Israelites, what they were to do to these nations, after they had attacked them and subdued them; but it gave them no charge to destroy any people who should choose to submit and surrender, without engaging in a war against them. The directions given in this text were to be executed, when the LORD *had brought* the Israelites into the lands of these nations⁵, and *had cast out* the inhabitants before them⁶. When the LORD had given the people of these nations into the hands of the Israelites⁷, and had discomfited them, and caused them to flee⁸; then indeed the Israelites were to have no pity upon them, but to smite and utterly destroy

⁴ Deut. vii, 1, 2, 5, 16, &c.

⁵ Ver. 1.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ver. 2.

⁸ None of the translators of the Bible have, I think, carefully attended to the Hebrew text in rendering the words in the 2d verse, which we translate, *Thou shalt smite them*. The Hebrew word is יחביתם, which I take to be not in the second person THOU, but the third person of the preterit hiphil of the verb נכח and that *the LORD thy GOD* going before, is the nominative case to it. I imagine that the word לפניך should be referred to this verb, and would render the place thus: *And when the LORD thy GOD shall have given them up, and smote them before thee, thou shalt utterly destroy them, &c.*

them, to consume and make an end of them⁹. This vengeance the Israelites had in charge to execute upon all these nations, after they had entered into a war with them, and obtained a conquest over them. But nothing in the text intimates that they were to have proceeded with this severity against any nation which chose to surrender, before they had tried the issue of war, and determined their fate by it. If any of them had not come out against the Israelites in battle², but had delivered up their cities upon summons³, before the LORD had defeated and discomfited them, they might have had terms to save their lives³. But let us inquire what terms the Israelites could give them, and whether,

II. They could make a covenant or enter into a league with them. Now this point may be clearly determined, if we consider distinctly the several injunctions laid upon them. And here, 1. They were evidently commanded not to tolerate the worship of the idols of Canaan, in any part of the land. Wheresoever they could carry their victorious arms, they were to take care not to bow down to the gods of these nations, but were *utterly to overthrow them, to break down their images⁴, to destroy their altars, and cut down their groves⁵*; or, as it is expressed in another place,

⁹ Deut. vii, 2.

¹ According to Joshua xi, 19, 20.

² Deut. xx, 10, 11.

³ Ibid. et Josh. ubi sup.

⁴ Exod. xxiii, 24.

⁵ Chap. xxiv, 13.

they were *utterly to destroy all the places wherein these nations had served their gods, upon the high mountains, and upon the hills, and under every green tree. They were to overthrow their altars, break their pillars, burn their groves with fire, hew down the graven images of their gods, and destroy the names of them out of the place*⁶. Thus they were entirely to abolish the religion which was embraced in these nations; and it is hard to be imagined, that they could make a league with any of their states, whilst they were so doing. For, as a league between two nations implies, in the very notion of it, their having upon some terms given their mutual faith to each other, to observe punctually what had been stipulated between them; and as such public faith was, according to the custom of these times, generally given and taken at a public sacrifice, where the parties to the treaty swore solemnly to each other by their respective gods⁷; so it is hard to say how the Israelites, who were in no wise to allow the idols of Canaan to be gods, could take this public faith from the worshippers of them. And this, I think, is hinted in the command given them. *Thou shalt make no covenant with them and their gods*⁸. According to

⁶ Deut. xii, 2, 3.

⁷ See and compare Genesis xxvi, 28—31, with xxxi, 44—55; and in this manner the heathen nations made truces and leagues with one another, as might be proved from many places in Homer and other ancient writers.

⁸ Exod. xxiii, 32. Our English version of the text is injudicious, and not strictly agreeable to the Hebrew particle. One

the forms of these times, a covenant could hardly be made with a people, without admitting their gods into it, to be their witnesses, and avengers of those who should break it. But the Israelites could not so far recognize the false objects of the worship of these nations, and therefore could not thus enter into covenant with them. But, 2. The Israelites were not only to demolish and destroy the idols of Canaan, but were to take away from the people both their *place and nation*. All the lands and cities of the several nations which inhabited Canaan, were to be divided by lot among the tribes of the children of Israel, to every family of each tribe a suitable part and portion of them⁹; and in order hereto the Israelites were, as God should enable them, to dispossess the inhabitants, and take possession of them. God had indeed determined not to drive out all the Canaanites before the Israelites in one year, immediately upon the Israelites entering into their land, because such a procedure would have had its inconveniences¹. But the Israelites were, as they increased, to be enabled by little and little to subdue them², and were strictly commanded, as they grew able, to take from them their possessions, and not suffer any of them to retain wherewith to live as a people

thing only is here forbidden, the making or confirming a league with them, for the doing of which it was necessary to proceed according to the religious rites used for that purpose.

⁹ See Numb. xxxiii, 50, and xxvi, 1—53.

¹ Exod. xxiii, 29.

² Ver. 30.

among them³. From the xxth of Deuteronomy, it may, perhaps, at first sight seem as if the Israelites had power, when they summoned the cities of these nations, if they had an answer of peace from them, to let the inhabitants hold their cities upon condition of paying tribute for them⁴, but the text, duly considered, gave no such liberty. If *a city opened unto* them, then it was to be, that *all the people who were found therein*, were to be tributaries, and to serve them⁵. It is not said, that the Israelites were to *put* such cities *under tribute*, which would have been the expression, if they were to have treated them as political bodies, and to have continued them in that capacity, only raising a tax or tribute upon them⁶; but all the people found therein were to be tributaries and servants. The terms to be given were, not to a city or people in their collective capacity, but to the individuals, to the several persons who had composed it; and they were to become tributaries and servants, in the manner that Solomon after-

³ Exod. xxiii, 33; Deut. vii, 22, 23; Josh. xxiii, 5, 7, 11, 12, 13.

⁴ Deut. xx, 11.

⁵ Id. *ibid*.

⁶ When Pharaoh Necho, after the death of Josiah, sent for Jehoahaz, whom the people had made king at Jerusalem, and sent him prisoner to Egypt, and set up Jehoiakim king in his stead; as he did not take away from the Jews their being a people, though he raised a tax or tribute upon them, so it is not said, that all the people became tributaries unto him and served him, but that he put the land to a tribute. 2 Kings xxiii, 32.

wards dealt with their children in some particular cities, where he found them⁷. He made them pay tribute⁸, or, as it is otherwise expressed in the book of Kings, he levied a tribute of bond-service upon them⁹, the nature of which is sufficiently explained by what follows. *Of the children of Israel did Solomon make no bondmen, but they were his men of war, and his servants, and his princes, and his captains, and bare rule over the people, that wrought in the work*¹; consequently, those tributaries, who paid him the tribute of bond-service, were, under the direction of these Israelites, obliged to perform the work and service which was required of them. Now that this was the true intent of the direction to the Israelites, in the text above cited², is evident from what appears to have been the failure, when afterwards they did not execute what had been given in charge to them. Thus, after the death of Joshua, the children of Benjamin did not drive out the Jebusites from Jerusalem³; the children of Manasseh did not dispossess the inhabitants of Beth-shean, and several other towns, of their respective cities⁴. Ephraim was faulty in like manner, with regard to the Canaanites of Gezer⁵, Zebulon to the inhabitants of Kitron and Nahalol⁶, Asher and Naphtali to several other cities⁷;

⁷ 2 Chron. viii, 7, 8.

⁸ 1 Kings ix, 21.

⁹ Deut. xx, 11.

¹ Ver. 27.

² Ver. 30.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ver. 22, 23.

⁵ Judges i, 21.

⁶ Ver. 29.

⁷ Ver. 32, 33.

though in all these cases, as the several tribes grew strong enough, they reduced these communities so far, as to compel them to pay tribute for their possessions⁸. But because herein they came to terms with them, contrary to what GOD had commanded, to make no league with them⁹; therefore what Joshua had before threatened¹ was now denounced against them, that GOD would not drive these nations out from before them, but that they should be as thorns in their sides, and their gods a snare unto them². This, I think, is a true representation of what the Israelites were enjoined, with regard to the treatment which the inhabitants of these nations were to have from them; and from all this, I think, it evidently appears, that the Israelites could enter into no alliance, could make no league³, no covenant with them. They had indeed liberty to give them quarter, and grant them their lives, upon condition they would become their servants; but this, I think, cannot properly be called making a league, covenant, or alliance with them; for a league is one thing, and servitude quite another⁴. The word league is in-

⁸ Judges i, 30, 33, 35.

⁹ Exod. xxiii, 32; Deut. vii, 2.

¹ Josh. xxiii, 13.

² Judges ii, 2.

³ Exod. and Deut. ubi sup.

⁴ Dedititii non proprie in fœdere, sed in ditione esse dicuntur, unde illud Latinorum de Campanis apud Livium; Campanorum aliam conditionem esse, qui non fœdere, sed per ditionem in fidem venissent. Item de Apulis, ita in societatem eos esse acceptos, ut non æquo fœdere, sed ut in ditione populi Romani essent. Vid Calvin. Lexic. Jurid. in verbo Fœdus.

deed used in a large sense by the Civilians. The Romans admitted that it signified a grant of any favours to conquered nations⁵; and Diodorus Siculus uses a word of like import, where a conqueror had reduced the persons he had subdued to accept such terms as he thought fit to give them⁶. In like manner the men of Jabesh-Gilead were offered a league with the Ammonite, by which they were to submit to serve him, and to have all their right eyes thrust out, in order to be made a reproach to all Israel⁷. And in both these cases, as the people treated with were to be continued a people, what was granted might be styled a league or covenant made with them. But the Israelites were not to suffer the nations of Canaan any longer to have a being: their cities, country, and possessions, were to be taken from them, and their persons to become the property of the new possessors of their lands and estates. And under these circumstances, whatever favour each Canaanite might meet with in his private capacity, from the several Israelites into whose hands he might fall, yet no league or covenant could be lawfully concluded

⁵ *Esse autem tria genera fœderum: unum, cum bello victis dicerentur leges: ubi enim omnia ei, qui armis plus potest, dedita essent, quæ ex iis habere victos, quibus mulctari eos velit, ipsius jus atque arbitrium esse. Livii Hist. lib. xxxiv, c. 57.*

⁶ *Ταυταμον και της μετ' αυτη καταπληξαμενος, και σπονδας οιας εββλετο δεσθαι παρασκευασαμενος εδωκε χωραν και πολιν ες κατοικησιν. Diodor. Sic. Ecl. p. 839, edit. Rhodoman.*

⁷ *1 Sam. xi, 2.*

with any nation or community of them, because the Israelites were not at liberty to permit any such body politic of them to remain in being, to receive and enjoy what by such league might be granted to them. Let us now inquire,

III. Whether the league concluded between Israel and the Gibeonites was contrary to what God had enjoined : and I think it certainly was ; for unquestionably the peace and the league made by Joshua with this people was of a public nature. It was confirmed to their ambassadors, who appeared to treat no otherwise than in their public character ; as agents not stipulating to save the lives of a few or of any number of private men, but as negotiating for the public, for the health and safety of the community which employed them. Now to take occasion from the words which tell us the nature of the league, which Joshua made with this people, to say, that he had only promised to let them live⁸, and consequently that the Israelites had fully performed what they had engaged, inasmuch as they did not put the men, women, and children of Gibeon and its cities to the sword, would be, I think, a lower quibble than the Romans were guilty of to the Carthaginians, when having granted by a public decree of the senate, that Carthage should be a free state, enjoy its own laws, and possess its domains in Africa, if they immediately delivered hostages,

⁸ Josh. ix, 15.

and performed what the consuls had in charge to require of them⁹; they explained to them, that they thought the people, not the city, was the state of Carthage¹, and demanded of them to raze their city, and build themselves another in a situation higher up in their country². The Israelites were undoubtedly obliged by their treaty to stop the war, when they came to the cities of Gibeon; they had disarmed themselves, and were not at liberty to touch or to smite this people, because of the oath they had sworn unto them. And as the saving alive the inhabitants, but demolishing or taking from them their cities and inheritance, would have been not keeping, but evading the public league, which was made with this nation; so in this the Israelites had unadvisedly brought themselves into a great strait, having solemnly granted what they could not perform, without a manifest neglect and violation of what God had in the strictest manner required of them. It will,

IV. Be asked, how then did the Israelites acquit

⁹ Εάν τοις υπατοις τριακοσις της ενδοξοτατης σωων παιδας ες ομηρειαν παρασχωσι. και τ' αλλα κατακυσωσιν αυτων, εξηει Καρχηδονα ελευθεραν τε και αυτονομον, και γην οσην εχουσιν εν Λιβυη. Appian. de Bello Punic, p. 43.

¹ Καρχηδονα γαρ υμας, ε το εδαφος, ηγημεθα. Id. p. 52. In voce, liberam relinqui Carthaginem, manifesta erat captio: frustra vocem Carthaginis urgebant Romani, dicentes civium multitudinem, non urbem significari. Grot. de Jure Belli et Pac. lib. ii, c. 16, sec. 15.

² Εκστητε της Καρχηδονος ημιν, και ανοικισασθε οπη θελετε, της υμετερας, ογδοηκοντα σταδις απο θαλασσης· τηνδε γαρ ημιν εγνωσαι κατασκαψαι. Appian. p. 46.

themselves in this matter? To this, I think, the answer is obvious: they remonstrated to the Gibeonites the fraud of which they had been guilty, to obtain the treaty; and proposed as an expedient, upon what terms they could give them their lives. The Gibeonites consented to accept the offer made to them, and their consenting hereto was what set the Israelites free from the embarrassments they were under in this matter. Joshua said unto the Gibeonites, *Wherefore have ye beguiled us, saying, we are far from you, when ye dwell among us*³? The Israelites had fully explained to this people, that they should be under difficulties in making a league with them, if they dwelt among them⁴; and therefore Joshua had the highest reason to resent and expostulate the inexcusable baseness of their behaviour in the treaty. However, as the Israelites had power to receive any of these nations, if the people of them would become their bondsmen to serve them⁵; upon these terms Joshua made them an offer of their lives⁶. The Gibeonites embraced the proposal which he made to them; acknowledged that they expected that all their lands must be taken from them, and that they aimed at nothing more, in what they had done, than barely to save their lives⁷, and that they entirely acquiesced in his disposal of them in any manner which he could contrive⁸. Accord-

³ Josh. ix, 22.

⁵ Vid. quæ sup.

⁷ Ver. 24.

⁴ Ver. 7.

⁶ Josh. ix, 23.

⁸ Ver. 25.

ingly, upon this second treaty or accommodation, *Joshua made them hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation, and for the altar*⁹. Had the Gibeonites been unwilling to comply with what was thus proposed to them, I imagine that Joshua would have *brought their cause before the LORD*¹, and would have asked the special direction of GOD, before he and the elders of Israel would have thought themselves at liberty to proceed in it. Two things may be observed upon the manner of finishing this affair. 1. Joshua did not dissipate this people by allotting them to be servants to the families of the Israelites. He kept them together, as much a nation as he had power to allow them to be, a public body of servants for the occasions of the congregation. 2. He seems to have punished their perfidy, by appointing them and their posterity to a perpetual bondage. This, I think, he expressed to them, when he said, *Now therefore ye are accursed, and there shall none of you be freed from being bond-men*². Had the Gibeonites treated openly and uprightly with the Israelites, I suppose, there was nothing in the law to prevent their being received upon such terms, as that, after some generations, their children might have come into the congregation, and been free in Israel³.

When the Canaanites heard that the inhabitants

⁹ Josh. ix, 26, 27.

¹ See Numbers xxvii, 5 ; ix, 8.

² Josh. ix, 23.

³ See Deut. xxiii.

of Gibeon were gone over to the Israelites, they were uneasy at it. Such a defection from their common cause gave them new fears, for Gibeon was a large and powerful city⁴. However, they resolved to take measures to deter other towns from following this example, and to defeat Joshua of the additional strength which the Gibeonites might be to him. For this end they immediately marched their forces, under the command of five of their kings, against the Gibeonites⁵, who sent unto Gilgal to Joshua, for succour⁶. Joshua with his army soon came to their relief, and obtained an entire victory over the five kings, took them all prisoners, and put them to death⁷. Two very great miracles attended the battle, fought this day between the Canaanites and the Israelites. One, that God was pleased by a storm of hailstones to kill more of the enemy⁸ than fell by the sword of the Israelites; the other, that at the word of Joshua, the Sun and Moon were seen to stand still, for near a whole day, to afford the Israelites a continuance of day-light⁹ to pursue their victory. It is obvious how remarkably pertinent both these miracles were to the circumstances of the persons concerned in them. The elements, and the Sun, Moon, and lights of Heaven, were the deities at this time worshipped by the inhabitants of Canaan¹;

⁴ Josh. x, 1, 2.

⁵ Ver. 3, 4, 5.

⁶ Ver. 6.

⁷ Ver. 7.

⁸ Ver. 11.

⁹ Ver. 13.

¹ See vol. i, b, v, p. 304.

but the Israelites were the servants of a truer God, by whose command, and under whose protection, they were to war against these nations and against their gods. Now what greater demonstration could be given of the power of their God to support them, or of the inability of the false deities of the Canaanites to assist their worshippers, than to see, that the God of Israel could cause these to contribute to, instead of preventing, the ruin which was coming upon those who served them? We cannot imagine, that Joshua should, without a special intimation from Heaven, have addressed unto God the prayer, concerning the Sun and Moon, which he is recorded to have made in the sight of Israel²; for of what an extravagance had he appeared guilty, if an effect had not been given to what he asked for? or how could he be so wild as to think of an accomplishment of so strange an expectation as this would have been, had it been only a thought of his own heart to wish for it? But unquestionably the same LORD, who spake unto him before the battle, who bade him not fear the armies of the Canaanites, who assured him that they should not be able to stand before him, directed him to ask for this wonderful miracle, and in granting what he had asked for, gave a full testimony, both to the Israelites and their enemies, that *the gods of the heathen were but idols*, and that *it is the LORD that made*, and that ruleth in

² Josh. x, 12.

*the heavens*³. But there are some farther observations, that ought to be made upon this extraordinary miracle: for,

It is remarkable, that what Joshua desired, and what was said to be done upon this occasion, is recorded in the sacred history in words not agreeable to what are now abundantly known to be the motions of the bodies, that compose the mundane system; Joshua desired that the Sun might *stand still upon Gibeon*, and the *Moon in the valley of Ajalon*⁴; and the event said to be the effect of this his prayer unto the LORD⁵, is thus related, *and the Sun stood still, and the Moon stayed, until the people had avenged themselves upon their enemies. So the Sun stood still in the midst of Heaven, and hasted not to go down about a whole day*⁶; *and there was no day like that before it or after it.* The thing, which Joshua here prayed for, was to have the day lengthened, and the manner in which he desired to have this his prayer accomplished was by having the Sun and Moon stopped in their motions; and agreeably to his request the text tells us, that the Sun and Moon were stopped, and did not move forward for about a whole day. But it is now sufficiently known, that day and night are not caused by any motion of the Sun and Moon, but rather by the Earth's rotation upon its own axis; and consequently the sacred pages state this fact absolutely wrong, as to the circumstances

³ Psalm xcvi, 5.

⁵ Ibid.

⁴ Joshua x, 12.

⁶ Ver. 13.

which caused it; and if so, can we think they were dictated by GOD, who cannot err in this, or in any matter? I answer, 1. Though the succession of day and night is indeed caused by a real motion of the Earth; and not of the Sun and Moon, as our modern astronomers can abundantly demonstrate, yet to appearance, not the Earth, but the Sun and Moon seem to have those motions which are vulgarly ascribed to them, as to a mariner at sea, sailing within view of a distant coast, not the ship he sails in, but the land he sees at a distance, seems to be in motion, as he passes by it. 2. In the early ages, both before and long after the days of Joshua, the most learned astronomers had no notion of the improvements which our modern professors have since attained to, but conceived that the Sun and Moon had their respective courses, according to what common appearance enabled them to judge and think of them, and agreeably hereto they formed their schemes, and thought themselves able to solve and account for all appearances by them. Consequently, 3. Had GOD enabled Joshua to form his desire of the longer day in a manner more agreeable to our new and more accurate astronomy, and dictated to him to record the miracle in terms suitable and agreeable to it, Joshua must have appeared both to have wished a thing, and expressed it to have been effected, in a manner directly contrary to all rules of science then known; and his account of what had happened would have been decried, in

the times when he lived, as false in astronomy, and no great regard would have been paid to it. It would have appeared rather a wild fancy, or gross blunder of his own, than a true account of a real miracle, and so have been but little attended to by the persons for whom, and in the ages which succeeded that in which it was written. 4. We do not read in the sacred text, that God declared that the Sun and Moon stood still upon this occasion. We may suppose that God might intimate to Joshua that he would grant him a miraculous prolongation of the day, if he would, at the head of his army, ask publicly for it⁷; hereupon Joshua made his request in such terms, as, according to his own conceptions, were proper to be used to ask such a miracle. “May the Sun,” said he, “stand still upon Gibeon, and the Moon in the valley of Ajalon.” This he thought must have been caused, if such a length of day as he was ordered to require was to be given to him. God heard his request, and gave him the thing he was to ask for, a day of near twice the length of any other. The historians of the times recorded the fact according to what it appeared to be to them, and agreeably to what was then thought to be true astronomy; and accordingly, the Sun and Moon appearing, and being thought for several hours together, not to have moved forward in their courses, both the author of the book of Jasher⁸, afterwards, and Joshua now in his history, relate to

⁷ Josh. x, 12.

⁸ Ver. 13.

us, that *the Sun stood still. and the Moon stayed—and hasted not to go down about a whole day.* And, 5. We may reasonably suppose, that though Joshua wrote his history under the direction of a divine assistance, yet that God would not interpose to prevent his recording this fact in this manner. For, though *all Scripture is given by inspiration of God*, yet certainly it is given no farther than is necessary to make it *profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and for instruction in righteousness*⁹. Now the narration of Joshua might fully answer this great end of Scripture, might teach the Israelites the power of their God, to direct and govern the Heavens as he pleased, might reprove the idolaters of their vain worship of the Sun and Moon, whom they fondly called the king and queen of Heaven¹, notwithstanding that it did not relate the fact exactly according to what might be the true astronomical manner in which God effected it. The most judicious writers have agreed, that “the sacred historians were not usually inspired with the things themselves, which they related, nor with the very words by which they express *what they have recorded*”². Their histories were written, not to satisfy our curiosity, but to be a standing proof of a providence to after-ages; to show us the care which God always takes

⁹ 2 Timothy iii, 16.

¹ See vol. i, b. v, p. 300; Jer. vii, 18; xliv, 17—25.

² Lowth's Vindicat. of the Divine Authority and Inspiration of the Old and New Testament, p. 220.

of good people, and the punishments he inflicts upon the wicked, to give us examples of piety and virtue, and, lastly, to inform us of matters of fact which tend to confirm our faith³. And so far God was unquestionably pleased to direct and assist the composers of them, as to prevent their inserting in any of their narrations, through human frailty, any thing which might contradict or disserve those purposes for which he incited them to draw up their compositions. Thus far Joshua appears in every part of his history to have had the benefit of a divine inspiration, though we have no reason to suppose that God dictated to him the very words he was to write, or prompted him to record the miracle we are treating of, otherwise than his own natural conceptions disposed him to relate it, and that, probably, amongst others, for this great reason: if God had inspired him to relate this fact in a manner more agreeable to true astronomy, unless he had also inspired the world with a like astronomy to receive it, it would rather have tended to raise amongst those, who read and heard of it, disputes and oppositions of science falsely so called, than have promoted the great ends of religion intended by it.

It may be asked, if the miracle recorded by Joshua was indeed fact, and one day was hereby made as long as two⁴, could so remarkable a

³ Lowth's Vindication, p. 221; Five Letters concerning the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, p. 28.

⁴ Eccclus. xlvj, 4.

thing have happened without being observed by the astronomers of all nations? Such a variation of the Sun's setting, as was hereby occasioned in the land of Canaan, must have made a longer day or a longer night than was natural in every other part of the habitable world: a longer day, wherever the Sun was visible at the time of Joshua's making his request, and a longer night in every part of the opposite hemisphere. Astronomy was studied in these times with great application in many nations⁵; and observations of the Heavens were taken and recorded with as much exactness as the professors of that science were capable of attaining; and it is probable, that if so remarkable an alteration of the course of day and night, as this was, had really happened, we should not find some hint or remain of some heathen writer to concur with, and bear testimony to the truth of what the sacred historian relates about it? But in answer hereto let us observe, 1. That it is highly improbable, I might say, morally impossible, that Joshua should attempt to record such a miracle as this, if it had not been done, for every one of his Israelites, as well as all their enemies, must have known and rejected the falsity of his narration; and he could never think of making the world believe a thing so conspicuously false, if it had not happened. 2. This fact might be recorded not only by Joshua, and afterwards in the

⁵ See vol. i, b. v, p. 299; vol. ii, b. vi, p. 56; viii, p. 219.

book of Jasher⁶, but also by divers other writers of other nations, and yet what they had registered about it may easily be conceived not to have come down to us. The most ancient heathen chronicles were very short and concise, and in a few ages were disfigured by mythology and false learning⁷, so as to go down to succeeding times in a shape and sense quite different from what was at first the design of them. And the original accounts hereby becoming not suitable to the taste which succeeded, were soon neglected, and in time lost. But, 3. If we could unravel the ancient fables, we should find, that the fact of there having been one day in which the course of the Sun had been irregular, had been indeed conveyed down in the memoirs of the heathen literature. Statius had heard of it, and supposed that it happened about the time of the Theban war, when Atreus made an inhuman banquet of Thyestes's children⁸. Other writers supposed that it had been in the days of Phaeton; and Ovid has beautified the fable told of him, that it was he who occasioned it, by having obtained leave to guide the chariot of the Sun for that day, which he was in no wise able to manage. Thus the heathen poets and mythologists dressed up and disfigured

⁶ Josh. x, 13.

⁷ See vol. ii, b. viii. Όταν εν α μυθολογησιν—δει των προειρημενων μνημονευειν, και μηδεν οισσθαι τστων λεγεσθαι γεγονος ετω και πεπραγμενον. Plut. de Isid. et Osirid.

⁸ Stat. in Thebaid. lib. i, ver. 325; lib. iv, ver. 307.

the hints which they found in ancient records. Atreus was father of Agamemnon, and lived but a generation before the Trojan war; therefore the Sun's standing still in the days of Joshua could not have happened in his time; so that Statius, or any writer from whom he took the hint, were not true in their chronology. But Phaeton lived much earlier: he was son of Tithonus⁹, who was the son of Cephalus¹, the son of Mercury², who was born of Maia the daughter of Atlas³. Atlas lived about A. M. 2385⁴; his daughter Maia might have Mercury by Jupiter about A. M. 2441, about the twentieth year of Jupiter's age⁵. Mercury at twenty-five years old might beget Cephalus, about A. M. 2466. Cephalus at thirty begat Tithonus, A. M. 2496. Tithonus at thirty-four begat Phaeton, who would thus be born about A. M. 2530. The Sun stood still in the days of Joshua⁶ A. M. 2554. Phaeton was then about twenty-four years old, a young man, not of age to guide the chariot of the Sun. Thus the time of Phaeton's life may

⁹ Apollodor. lib. iii, c. 13.

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Id. lib. eod. c. 10.

⁴ See vol. ii, b. viii, p. 256.

⁵ Jupiter was born A. M. 2421. See b. x, p. 70.

⁶ Clemens Alexandrinus supposes that Phaeton lived about the times of Crotopus; Stromat. lib. i, p. 138: and so does Tatian. Orat. ad Græc. p. 133. Crotopus was the eighth king of Argos. Castor. Euseb. Chron. Crotopus, I think, died about A. M. 2525; so that Clemens Alexand. and Tatian seem to place Phaeton about thirty years earlier than Joshua's commanding the Israelites: but thirty years is no great variation in the chronology of these times.

synchronize with the year of the Sun's standing still in the days of Joshua, and the fable told of him might have its first rise from a fact recorded to have happened in his youth, dressed up and diversified with the various fictions of succeeding mythologists, until it was brought to what Ovid left it. But, 4. If we go into China, we may there find something more truly historical, relating to the fact before us. The Chinese Records report, that in the reign of their emperor Yao the Sun did not set for ten days together, and that they feared the world would be set on fire⁷. Yao, according to Martinus, was the seventh emperor of China, Fohi being the first. And, as he computes, from the first year of Fohi's reign to Yao's, are five hundred and eighty-seven years; for Fohi reigned one hundred and fifteen years⁸, after him Xin-num one hundred and forty⁹, Hoang-ti one hundred¹, Xao-haon eighty-four², Chuen-hio seventy-eight³, Cou seventy⁴, and next to him succeeded Yao⁵. The first year of Fohi's reign in China was A. M. 1891⁶; from hence count down five hundred and eighty-seven years, and the first year of Yao will be A. M. 2479. Yao reigned

⁷ Per hæc tempora diebus decem non occidisse solem, orbemque conflagraturum mortales timuisse scribunt. Martinii Histor. Sinic, lib. i, p. 37.

⁸ Id. pag. 21.

⁹ Id. 24.

¹ Id. 25.

² Id. 32.

³ Id. 33.

⁴ Id. 35.

⁵ Id. 36.

⁶ See vol. ii, b. vi, p. 61.

ninety years⁷, to A. M. 2569. The year in which the Sun stood still, in the days of Joshua, was A. M. 2554, in about the seventy-fifth year of Yao's reign. Thus, what is recorded in the Chinese annals synchronizes with the fact related in Joshua. The Chinese records are said to report, that the Sun did not set for ten days, but I suspect our European writers have not here exactly hit the meaning of the Chinese annals, and that the word they have translated days may perhaps rather signify a space of time little more than one of our hours. If so, the sacred historian and the Chinese annalist agree minutely in their time of the duration of this miracle⁸. If the Sun's not setting at this time was thus observed in China, we may guess about what time of day Joshua desired this miracle; and we may be sure it was not towards the evening, as some writers have supposed⁹; for had the day been almost over in Canaan, the Sun would have been set in China before the miracle happened, and therefore could not have been there observed at all¹. It was therefore a little before noon in Canaan when Joshua desired the Sun might be stopped, and about this time the Sun

⁷ Martin. *ubi sup.*

⁸ Josh. x, 13. The Sun hasted not to go down about a whole day. One day was as long as two, Ecclus. xlv, 4. *i. e.* the Sun was stopped about ten or twelve hours, the space of about a natural day.

⁹ Cleric. *Comment. in loc.*

¹ Geographers know that the day begins and ends four or five hours earlier in China than in Canaan.

might be seen by Joshua, in such a position as to seem to stand over Gibeon², or as it is expressed in the next verse, *in the midst of Heaven*³, and it would be afternoon in China at this time of day in Canaan. If the Chinese saw and observed this miracle, then the light of day, with which the Israelites were favoured, was occasioned by the Sun's really not going down as usual, and not from a vapour or Aurora shining in the air, as Le Clerc and some others have supposed⁴. For such a vapour would not have been seen from Canaan to China, and could not possibly have appeared near the time of Sun-set in both countries; nor would it have occasioned the heat which was felt in divers parts of the world, during the time of the miracle. The Chinese annals intimate, that it was feared the Earth would have been set on fire. The mythologists relate, that a conflagration had really happened; and Ovid paints a poetical scene of it, as his fancy prompted him⁵; and unquestionably the continuance of the Sun in one position in the Heavens, for about ten hours together, must affect with a very intense heat, even places not under his meridian height all that time. The Israelites would probably have been greatly incommoded with the warmth of such a day, if GOD had not been pleased to give a temperature to the air, proper to relieve them, and perhaps suitable to the

² Josh. x, 12.

³ Ver. 13.

⁴ Comment. in lib. Jos. in loc.

⁵ Ovid. Metam.

producing that prodigious hail, which he caused at this time to afflict the Canaanites⁶. I am sensible, that such a suspension or retardation of the motion of the Earth, Moon, and perhaps of the other heavenly bodies, which have relation to them, as is necessary to cause this miracle in the manner I suppose it to have been effected, may be calculated to be naturally productive of consequences fatal to our system. But then I think it is easy to answer in this matter, that if we have sufficient reason to induce us to believe, that GOD really wrought this miracle, it is not hard to conceive, that the great Ruler of the universe is not only able to direct, beyond what we can imagine, but also as abundantly able so to *uphold, all things by the word of his power*⁷, during the time of it, as to have no other effect follow than what he proposed to have done in the world. One design of the mighty works, which GOD was pleased to perform before his chosen people, was, if men would have paid a due attention and regard to them, to produce a reasonable conviction, that the Earth is *filled with the glory and knowledge of the LORD*⁸. What they might have *known of GOD, even his eternal power and godhead, he had at divers times, and in various manners, before showed unto them by the things which he had done*⁹ *from the creation of the world*¹. But as these things had, prior to this age,

⁶ Josh. x, 11.⁸ Numb. xiv, 21.¹ Rom. i, 19, 20.⁷ Heb. i, 3.⁹ Τοις ποιήμασι.

lost their influence in almost all nations, and the world was departed *from the living God*, to go after the Sun, Moon, and Stars, to serve them, what could have been done more remarkably worthy of GOD's infinite power, to show himself to be a GOD above all gods, than to have the Sun and Moon made to stand still in favour of his declared will, to support a people chosen to be distinguished by his worship? The time of day in Canaan when this miracle happened was such, that the sight of it must go forth through all the then known nations of the Earth, so that *there* could be *no speech, nor language*², where, had a due inquiry been made into it, the voice of it would not have been heard, powerfully proclaiming, that however the world had been falsely amused *with the beauty*, or *astonished at the imagined power of the lights of Heaven*³, yet that there was a Being who ruleth in the Heavens, higher than them all, and who could over-rule and dispose of any of them as he pleased.

After the defeat of the army of the five kings, Joshua reduced the nations of the south parts of Canaan, and having broken every opposition which could here make head against him; he marched his victorious forces back to Gilgal⁴.

Upon Joshua's return to Gilgal, Jabin king of Hazor, a city of great figure and command in the

² Psalm xix, 4.

³ Wisdom xiii, 3, 4.

⁴ Josh. x, 28—43.

north parts of Canaan⁵, sent unto the kings of the nations round about him, and proposed to unite their forces, in order to act with their whole strength against the Israelites⁶. These kings agreed to his proposal, made their levies, and came together a numerous and well-appointed army⁷. They rendezvoused at the waters of Merom⁸. Joshua, on the other hand, led the Israelites against them, under a special promise of God's assistance and protection⁹, and gave them battle, and obtained a great victory¹. After having given them this defeat, he turned back, took the city Hazor, and burned it to the ground². From Hazor Joshua marched against the cities of the other kings, and in time became master of all this country³, but it was the work of some years for him to reduce these nations⁴. In about five years he entirely subdued them⁵, and having now triumphed over, in all, one and thirty kings⁶, and obtained for the Israelites full room to settle their families in all parts of the land, he was ordered to put an end to the war⁷. Caleb, the son of Jephunneh, was forty years old when Moses sent him as one of the spies into the land of Canaan⁸;

⁵ Josh. xi, 10.

⁷ Ver. 4.

⁹ Ver. 6.

² Ver. 10, 11.

⁴ Ver. 18.

⁵ Joseph. Antiq. lib. v, c. 1.

⁶ Josh. xii, 24.

⁸ Chap. xiv, 7.

⁶ Ver. 1, 2, 3.

⁸ Ver. 5.

¹ Ver. 7, 8, 9.

³ Ver. 12—17.

⁷ Chap. xiii, 1—7.

the spies were sent into Canaan after the tabernacle was erected, in the second year of the exit⁹, A. M. 2514. Caleb was now at the finishing of the war eighty-five¹; so that the war was finished A. M. 2559, I suppose towards the end of the year. Joshua passed over Jordan on the tenth day of the first² month A. M. 2554, and began the war by the siege of Jericho a few days after. From this time to about the end of the year 2559 are near six years, and so long was Joshua engaged in his wars against the Canaanites. Almost one year was employed in his first campaign in the south parts of Canaan³, the other five were spent against the king of Hazor and his confederates⁴.

Upon giving over the war, Joshua was directed by God to apply himself to divide the land of Canaan among the Israelites⁵. Moses, before he died, had fixed the inheritance of two tribes and a half tribe on the other side Jordan⁶. There remained nine tribes and a half to be now settled⁷. And unto these Joshua and Eleazar the priest, and the heads of the tribes, were preparing to set out their inheritance. But before they began to make a division of the land, the children of Judah came to them, and Caleb, who was of this tribe, represented that Moses had made him a solemn pro-

⁹ See book xi, p. 176.

² Chap. iv, 19.

⁴ Chap. xi.

⁶ Ver. 8, 32; Numb. xxxii; Deut. iii, 12—17.

⁷ Josh. xiii, 7.

¹ Josh. xiv, 10.

³ Chap. vi, vii, viii, ix, x.

⁵ Chap. xiii.

mise, which might determine the place of his particular inheritance⁸. When the spies were sent by Moses into Canaan, they went to Hebron, where *Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmai, the children of Anak were*⁹, and at their return they took occasion, from the largeness of the stature of these men, to fill the camp with fears, that the Israelites would never be able to make their way into the country¹: but Caleb endeavoured to animate the people with better hopes²; whereupon, when God pronounced against the congregation, that the men who had seen his miracles and glory should not come into the land, but should die in the wilderness³, he was pleased to promise, that Caleb should be brought (*el ha aretz, asher ba sham-mah*) into the land, to the very place he went to⁴, and that *his seed should possess it*⁵. Now Hebron was the particular place where they went, and from whence they brought home the fears which had so disturbed the camp⁶, for faithfully endeavouring to quell which, Caleb had this particular promise made to him⁷; and upon this account Caleb argued, that this was the place, at which

⁸ Josh. xiv, 6—9.⁹ Num. xiii, 22.¹ Ver. 33.² Ver. 30; xiv, 6.³ Ver. 22, 23.⁴ Ver. 24. The Hebrew words are,

וּבְיָמָיו אֶל-הָאֲדָמָה אֲשֶׁר בָּא שָׁמָּה

illuc adiit quam in terram et introducam eum

ad ipsum locum illam

⁵ Numb. xiv, 24.⁶ Vid loc. supra citat.

Numb. xiv, 24.

GOD had promised that he should be settled, adding withal, that though the very men were then in possession of it, who had so terrified his companions, yet that he should not at all doubt, but be enabled to eject them⁶. Joshua admitted the plea of Caleb, and appointed his inheritance at Hebron⁷; and then allotted the tribe of Judah the country from Hebron to Kadesh-barnea, as described in the xvth chapter of the book of Joshua. Next after Judah, the children of Joseph were allotted their inheritance¹; and we have in the xvth and xviith chapters of Joshua a particular account of the boundaries of the lands assigned to them; namely, to the tribe of Ephraim, and to the half tribe of Manasseh, which was to inherit on this side Jordan². The families of this tribe and half tribe were settled on the north side of the country, wherein the camp of the Israelites, which was formed at Gilgal, rested, as the tribe of Judah was settled on the south of it; so that the camp was, as it were, secured on either side from any sudden irruption; and having proceeded thus far, the whole congregation assembled at Shiloh, within the confines of the tribe of Ephraim³, and there set up the tabernacle⁴.

⁶ Josh. xiv, 12.

⁷ We must here remark, that the city of Hebron was not the property and inheritance of Caleb; for Hebron was one of the Levitical cities. Caleb's inheritance consisted of some fields near adjoining to this town. See Joshua xxi, 11, 12.

¹ Josh. xvi, 1, &c.

² Chap. xvii, 5.

³ See Judges xxi, 19.

⁴ Josh. xviii, 1.

Josephus seems to represent that the tabernacle had been erected before they began to divide the land⁵. But this, I think, is a mistake; for when they began to divide the land, there were nine tribes and a half tribe, which had no inheritance⁶. But at the time of erecting the tabernacle, seven tribes only were not provided for⁷. Two tribes and a half tribe, besides those who were to inherit on the other side Jordan, had had their countries assigned to them according to what is above represented, as the book of Joshua very plainly intimates. Thus far therefore the Israelites had proceeded; but they began to find difficulties in the method they were taking. To Judah they had given too large a country⁸, and Ephraim and the half tribe of Manasseh were not satisfied with what was allotted to them⁹. And for this reason, I suppose, they now set up the tabernacle. Their enemies were so far subdued, and the place where they were to fix it so surrounded with the settlements already made, that they had no reason to fear any sudden invasion, to oblige them to take it down again¹. And by having the tabernacle erected, they would have power to apply to God for his immediate direction in all difficulties², so as both to prevent mistakes in their division of the

⁵ Joseph. Antiq. lib. v, c. 1.

⁶ Josh. xiv, 2; xiii, 7.

⁷ Chap. xviii, 2.

⁸ Chap. xix, 9.

⁹ Chap. xvii, 14.

¹ Chap. xviii, 1.

² See Exod. xxix, 42, 43.

land, and to leave no pretence for any tribe's being dissatisfied at the lot which should be assigned to them.

The directions, which GOD had given for the division of the land, were these, 1. They were to divide the land by lot³; and each tribe was to have that portion of it, which by lot should fall to him⁴. 2. When the lot of a tribe was fallen, the land so allotted to that tribe was to be divided among the several families of it⁵; which, I think, was to be done partly by the lot⁶, and only in part. When they began to set out the particular inheritances of the families, they threw the lot, which family they should settle first, which next, and so on. And thus *every man's inheritance would be in the place where his lot fell*⁷; but the place of it being thus fixed, they did not cast the lot for the quantity to be assigned to a family; for they were to set out more or less land to each family, according to the number of the names of the persons belonging to it⁸. 3. Every private person was to have his inheritance within the bounds of the country assigned to the tribe⁹ to which he belonged. 4. To prevent disputes or uneasiness in or from the choice of the persons who were to manage and direct the division, GOD had expressly named who should divide the land unto the chil-

³ Numb. xxxiii, 54; xxvi, 55.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Chap. xxvi, 56.

⁷ Chap. xxxii, 54.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

dron of Israel¹; and, 5. He had also set them bounds, described how far every way the land reached, which was to be divided² by them. We may now examine, what method Joshua and the princes of the congregation took, when they began to execute the commission herein given them.

Now, I imagine, in the first place, that they cast lots to know what tribe they should begin with in making the division; and the lot came out for the tribe of Judah. The next question that could arise, must be where they should settle this tribe; and here Caleb offered his claim to have his inheritance at Hebron³; the admitting of which, seems to have rendered all farther inquiry about the situation of the country to be assigned to this tribe superfluous; and also to have led the Israelites to set out a tract of land for them, more at random, perhaps, than they would otherwise have done. The journey of the spies, upon which Caleb's claim was founded⁴, began from Kadesh-barnea. Caleb's claim did not aim at any thing higher up into the country than Hebron. If Caleb was fixed here, the tribe to which he belonged was to be settled contiguous to him. The tribe of Judah was the most numerous of all the tribes; it mustered 76,000 men of twenty years old and upwards, when the sum of the congrega-

¹ Numb. xxxiv, 17—29.

² Ver. 3—12.

³ Josh. xiv, 6.

⁴ Numb. xxxii, 3; Josh. xiv, 7.

tion was taken in the plains of Moab⁵, and consequently a pretty large country would be necessary for it. Now these considerations seem to have induced them to set out at adventure for this tribe all the land between Kadesh-barnea and Hebron, according to the description and bounds which are given of it⁶. Having thus fixed the tribe of Judah their country, they proceeded to allot each family a proper share and portion in it; but when they had done this, they found, that *the part of the children of Judah was too much for them*⁷. After each family of the tribe had received an inheritance as large as they could be conceived to have occasion for, there remained a tract of the country to spare, and undisposed of. This must suggest to the dividers, that if they did not go into some stricter method for setting out the assignments to the several tribes, they might in time be brought into difficulties. They might set out to the tribes, which were first provided for, too much of the land, and not leave enough for those whose lot might come up to be last settled. Accordingly in their next appointment they appear to have a little altered their method of proceeding: for,

Here, I think, they first set out such a quantity of the land, as they thought the country of Canaan might afford for a tribe. Then for the eight

⁵ Josh. xxvi, 22.

⁶ Chap. xv.

⁷ Chap. xix, 9.

tribes and a half they made eight lots, assigning but one lot to the tribe of Ephraim and half tribe of Manasseh, considering them under one appellation, namely, as the children of Joseph⁶. After this they cast the lots to determine who should have the inheritance put up to be disposed of, and the lot of the children of Joseph came out for it⁷. That but one lot was here made for the sons of Joseph, appears evidently from their complaint to Joshua: *The children of Joseph spake unto Joshua, saying, Why hast thou given me but one lot, and one portion to inherit*¹? The children of Joseph, here concerned, were more than a tribe: they were a tribe and a half tribe, and in all respects a flourishing people²; and they ought not to have been put thus together, and represented only in one lot; when, if they had been a tribe only, one lot would have been assigned to them. This complaint of the sons of Joseph intimates also, that the quantity of land, for which the lots were cast, was settled, and the bounds of it agreed upon, before the lots were cast for it, otherwise the complaint would have been groundless; for if this had not been the case, where would have been the hardship of the sons of Joseph being represented by only one lot, when the dividers of the land might, upon finding them to be the persons to be provided for, have set them out as much

⁶ Josh. xvi, 1.

⁷ Ibid; ver. 1, 2, 3, 4.

¹ Chap. xvii, 14.

² Ver. 15, 17.

land, and half as much land, as they would have portioned out to a tribe, if the lot of a single tribe had come up upon this occasion? But herein the sons of Joseph argued the inequality of the procedure. A tract of land was set out for the inheritance of a tribe. In the lots they were represented but as a tribe, and hereby they received not a portion and a half portion, to which they might think they had a just claim, but one single portion only³; for any other single tribe, if their lot had come up for it, would have had all the country which was assigned to them. After it was determined what country the sons of Joseph were thus to have, it remained to consider how to divide it between their families. Herein the lot was to be used⁴; and the dividers, having perhaps fixed where they would begin to set out the lands, might cast the lots to know whether they should settle the families of Ephraim first, or of Manasseh. They began, I think, in the parts nearest the camp, with the families of Ephraim⁵, and having provided for them in order as their lot directed⁶, and given each family a greater or a lesser inheritance, as the number of persons belonging to it required⁷, there remained the portion to be divided to the half tribe of Manasseh⁸, which they distributed to them in like manner⁹; adding

³ Josh. xvii, 14.

⁵ Josh. xvi, 5.

⁷ Numb. xxxiii, 54.

⁹ Ver. 7, &c.

⁴ Vid. quæ sup.

⁶ Vid. quæ sup.

⁸ Josh. xvii, 2.

to them, over and besides the residue of what was first allotted, some tracts of land taken from the coasts, which were afterwards assigned to the tribes of Asher and Issachar¹; for, upon their repeated remonstrances², Joshua did indeed confess, that they were a great people, and that one lot only was not altogether enough for them³.

There were seven tribes to be still provided for⁴, but before they proceeded any farther, the whole congregation assembled at Shiloh, and set up the tabernacle⁵. Then Joshua proposed to the people to name to him seven men, one out of each tribe, that he might send them out to survey the country which remained still to be divided⁶. What was already done he was for having ratified and confirmed; *that Judah should abide in their coasts on the south, and the house of Joseph in their coasts on the north*⁷; each of these were to keep what had been assigned to them. And the persons appointed to make the survey of the lands not yet disposed of, were to cast their survey into seven parts, and to bring their accounts of it in a book to Shiloh, where Joshua purposed to have the lots thrown before the LORD, at the tabernacle, to determine for each tribe his part of it⁸. The proposal was received with universal approbation. The men were appointed, and brought in their

¹ Josh. xvii, 11.

³ Ver. 17.

⁵ Ibid. 1.

⁷ Ver. 5.

² Ver. 14, 16.

⁴ Chap. xviii, 2.

⁶ Ver 4.

⁸ Ver. 6.

survey; and Joshua cast the lots in Shiloh, *before the LORD*⁹, and divided the land according to their divisions¹; that is, he made no alteration in any of the seven parts, which the men who took the survey had agreed upon, but each tribe, as their lot came up, had the country for which the lot was drawn, as the surveyors had described it.

From the account we have in the book of Joshua, of the order and part of the country, in which each of these seven tribes were settled³, we may easily apprehend in what manner the lots were drawn for them. First, it was agreed to draw for the land, which lay between Judah and the sons of Joseph; the countries where the camp had been so long at Gilgal, and this fell to the tribe of Benjamin². The second lot was cast for the land, which remained over and above what was occupied by the tribe of Judah, and this fell to the tribe of Simeon⁴. The third lot was bounded by the Sea of Tiberias, and this fell to the tribe of Zebulun⁵. Fourthly, they drew for the land between Zebulun and the sons of Joseph, and this fell to the tribe of Issachar⁶. The fifth lot gave to Asher the country next to the north extent of the land to be divided⁷. The sixth lot assigned to Naphtali a country east to Asher⁸. And the last lot remained for Dan, and placed

⁹ Josh. xviii, 9.

¹ Ver. 10.

² Ibid. ver. 11, to ver. 48 of chap. xix.

³ Chap. xviii, 11.

⁴ Chap. xix, 1.

⁵ Ver. 10.

⁶ Ver. 17.

⁷ Ver. 24.

⁸ Ver. 32.

him upon the border of the Philistines⁹. It is remarked, that *the coast of the children of Dan went out too little for them*¹; an observation probably not made by Joshua. The words following it hint the expedition which the Danites made afterwards against Leshem. *Therefore the children of Dan went up to fight against Leshem, and took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and possessed it, and dwelt therein, and called it Dan, after the name of Dan their father*². These words cannot be supposed to have been written by Joshua, for they speak of an expedition not made until after his death³; therefore I think that this whole verse is an addition to the sacred pages, made in the manner of some others, which I have observed to be of a like nature⁴. The children of Dan were indeed a large people; they mustered 64,400 men of twenty years old and upwards, when the poll was taken in the plains of Moab⁵. Judah only was a bigger tribe. But I do not imagine, that the surveyors of the land had made their assignments so injudiciously, as to have any very remarkable disproportion appear in any of them. *The coast of Dan was too little for them*⁶; probably not that the country assigned them was not in itself large enough to receive, and produce an abundant provision for all their families, but

⁹ Joshua xix, 40.

¹ Ver. 47.

² Ibid.

³ Judg. xviii.

⁴ See Prideaux's Connect. part i, b. v, p. 492.

⁵ Numb. xxvi, 43.

⁶ Josh. xix, 47.

because *all their inheritance did not fall unto them*⁷. The Philistines were in their full strength⁸; part of whose territories was in this country⁹; and the Amorites possessed other, the most fruitful parts of it¹; so that the children of Dan had, comparatively speaking, possession of only a small part of what was intended to be their inheritance. And we do not find, that they enlarged themselves²; therefore as their families increased, they must have been in straits in a country, of which they had so imperfect a tenure. Otherwise, from the fruits³, and pasturage of this part of Canaan⁴, not to mention that they had undoubtedly corn fields, as well as their neighbours, on their very borders⁵, not to suggest how many of the tribe of Dan might abide in ships⁶, and have the advantages of employment in a sea-life, we may judge, that had a full possession of their whole allotment fallen to them, a mighty and a great people might have flourished and increased in it.

The sacred writer has given us a very particular account of the bounds and extent of the country assigned to each tribe⁴; but we cannot hope to be able to trace out their borders with the same exactness. Canaan must have been too much altered

⁷ See Judg. xviii, 2.

⁸ Josh. xix, 2.

⁹ Compare Josh. xix, 43, with xiii, 3; 1 Sam. v, 10; vi, 16, 17.

¹ Judg. i, 35.

² Ver. 34, 35.

³ See Numb. xiii, 24.

⁴ Gen. xxxviii, 13.

⁵ Judg. xv, 5.

⁶ Chap. v, 17.

⁷ Josh. xiii, xv, xvi, xvii, xviii, xix.

from what it was in the days of Joshua; for perhaps the Jews themselves, in their later days, have found the face of things different from what it appeared in these times. Ten of the twelve tribes of Israel were lost in the captivity⁹. Two tribes only, Benjamin and Judah, with some few families of the other tribes incorporated with them, returned from Babylon⁹. And the number which returned was comparatively so small¹, that, if all Canaan had been restored to them, they would in nowise have been sufficient to enter upon a full possession of what had been the inheritance of the twelve tribes in their several divisions of it. Judea alone was a country more than large enough for them, and they were obliged to contrive means, that Jerusalem itself should not want people². In this state of things, the country of the ten tribes might not be much inquired after. Other nations of people were become the possessors³ of it, and the bounds of the inheritances which had formerly been known in it might be, in a few ages, not to be ascertained with great exactness, even before the times of a very late posterity. Accordingly, I think, we find not only Adrichomius, and other modern chorographers, giving us, in many particulars, very confused and unscriptural accounts of the situation of divers of the ancient towns of these

⁹ Prideaux, Connect. part i, b. ii.

⁹ Id. b. iii.

¹ Id. *ibid*.

^{*} Nehem xi.

² Prideaux, *ubi sup*.

countries⁴, but even Josephus himself rather able to say at large, whereabouts each tribe had been placed, than to describe with exactness the borders of their situations. He represents that Zebulun had his country from the Lake Gennesaret to Mount Carmel, and to the sea⁵; but we cannot, I think, conceive, that this tribe had this situation. That the country of Zebulun touched upon Gennesaret is indeed confirmed by St. Matthew⁶; but how shall we extend it from thence to Carmel, and to the sea? Asher reached to Carmel westward⁷: Ephraim and Manasseh met together in Asher on the north⁸. The only point, where these two tribes could thus meet, must be at the sea of Carmel⁹; but they could not meet in this point, if the land of Zebulun lay there between them. I might observe farther; Zebulun's inheritance, according to what Jacob had prophesied of him, was to reach, not unto Carmel, but unto Zidon¹; and undoubtedly, according to this account of what was to be his border, his portion was in due time assigned to him. We must therefore suppose, that the inheritance of this tribe had been extended

⁴ Walton. in Prolegom. ad Bib. Polyglot.

⁵ Ζαβουλωνιται δε την μεχρι Γεννησαριτιδος, κατηκυσαν δε περι Καρμηλον και θαλασσαν ελαχον. Joseph. Antiq. lib. v. c. 1.

⁶ Mat. iv, 13.

⁷ Josh. xix, 26.

⁸ Chap. xvi, 10.

⁹ Any map of the country will present this to view.

¹ Gen. xlix, 13.

from Gennesaret, between the lands of Asher and Naphtali, up to the northern extent of Canaan; and in this manner the border of Zebulun might indeed be unto Zidon. Zidon was a town perhaps not of Zebulun, but of Asher²; Zebulun's country then reached only to the borders of it³.

When Joshua and the persons in commission with him *had made an end of dividing the land for inheritance by their coasts*⁴; *the children of Israel gave an inheritance to Joshua. They gave him the city which he asked, even Timnath-Serah in Mount Ephraim, and he built the city, and dwelt therein*⁵. What he asked for was in a situation not occupied by any to whom inheritances had been given; for it was in Mount Ephraim, probably in that part of the hill, of which Joshua had observed to his people, that it was a wood, and that they might cut it down, and open to themselves an enlargement of their borders in the outgoings of it⁶. If Timnath-Serah was a town before Joshua built it, it might perhaps be an old ruined village, which had been long evacuated in this wild and overgrown country; so that Joshua asked a property, such as might give him an opportunity of being an example to his tribe for improving their inheritance, to instruct them how to make their allotment

² See Josh. xix, 27, 28.

³ I might observe, that the giving Zebulun this situation agrees with another hint of Joshua; that Zebulun lay east, or to the sun-rising of Asher. Josh. xix, 27.

⁴ Josh. xix, 49, 50.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Chap. xvii, 18.

commodious for them. Joshua built the city, and dwelt therein: in so commanding a situation, we may conceive that he formed, as it were, a new and beautiful country round about him; and planted himself not inelegantly, and agreeably to a taste, which the ancients of almost all countries were not strangers to in their early times⁷.

The inheritances being fixed, the Israelites appointed the six cities of refuge, and agreed upon the cities to be set out in every tribe for the Levites to dwell in⁸. All things being now hereby settled for the Israelites to enjoy their respective possessions in every part of the land, Joshua called together the Reubenites, Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh, whose inheritances were on the other side Jordan, and having made a public acknowledgment of their assistance to their brethren, and of their having now punctually fulfilled all that Moses had required of them, he strictly charged them to resolve most stedfastly to keep the law. He likewise ordered them their share of the spoil of the conquered nations, and dismissed them, in order to their going home to their own possessions⁹. The two tribes and a half drew off from the congregation, and began their march towards their own country¹. When they were come to Jordan, be-

⁷ Ωκισε πολεις μικρας και συνεχεις επι τοις ορεσιν, οσπερ ην τοις παλαιοις τροπος οικησεως συνηθης. Dionys. Halicar. lib. i, c, 12.

⁸ Josh. xx, xxi.

⁹ Chap. xxii, 1—8.

¹ Ver. 9.

fore they passed the river, they built a very large altar, near the place where the Israelites had formerly come over into Canaan²; intending to leave here a lasting monument to all future ages, that they acknowledged themselves to belong to the tribes in Canaan, and that they had no separate altar in their own country, but that the altar at which they were to sacrifice was on the other side the river, before the tabernacle of the LORD their God³. A rumour of what they were doing soon came to Shiloh, at which the congregation there were greatly alarmed⁴. The Israelites in Canaan, not knowing their intention, were afraid they were setting up an altar for themselves; and that they intended to fall off from the worship, which the law commanded, and resolved upon a war against them, rather than suffer an innovation, which they apprehended would bring down the divine vengeance upon all Israel⁵. Hereupon they sent an embassy⁶. The two tribes and the half tribe explained their intention to the princes who were sent to them⁷, so that they returned with an account which gave great satisfaction to the congregation⁸, who thereupon blessed GOD, that their brethren were not guilty of the defection from his worship, which they had imputed to them⁹. Thus with

² Josh. xxii, 11.³ Ver. 11—20.⁴ Ibid.⁵ Ver. 33.² Ver. 21—29.³ Ibid.⁷ Ver. 21—29.⁹ Ibid.

great joy they laid aside the preparations which they were making for a war¹.

As the sword of Joshua had been fatal to the Canaanites, wherever he had marched against them; for we read of all the nations conquered by him, that he utterly depopulated them, as the LORD GOD of Israel had commanded²; so it is supposed, that many companies fled before him out of every country, and escaped into foreign lands. Procopius, who flourished in the time of Justinian, mentions some pillars near the place where Tangier is now situate, with an inscription upon them in old Phœnician letters, to this purpose, WE ARE THE FUGITIVES FROM THE FACE OF JOSHUA, THE ROBBER, THE SON OF NUN³; and the Hebrew writers tell us, that the whole nation of the Gergashites escaped into this country⁴. But the sacred historian intimates the contrary; for the Gergashites were one of the nations that fought with the Israelites⁵. It is not indeed probable, that in the battles fought by Joshua every person of every nation subdued by him fell by the sword. Some remains of every kingdom might escape, as Æneas and a few Trojans did in a succeeding age

¹ Josh. xxii, 33.

² Chap. x, 40.

³ Procop. in Vandalicis.: Bochart Præf. in lib. de Colon. et Sermon. Phœnic.

⁴ Rab. S. B. Nachman. Gem. Hierosol.; vid. Selden. de Jur. Nat. et Gentium, lib. vi, c. 13.

⁵ Josh. xxiv, 11.

from the ruin of Troy. And if any little companies in this manner took their flight in Joshua's first campaign, when he overthrew the kings of South Canaan, they might make their route by way of Egypt into these parts of Africa, or they might fly into the land of the Philistines, which was not yet conquered⁶; and from towns on these coasts, of repute for shipping in these days⁷, they might sail for foreign lands, and a voyage from these parts to Africa was suitable to the skill of these times in the art of sailing, it fell naturally down along the coast from Canaan to Egypt, to Lybia, and without a necessity of going a great distance out of sight of shore. Such a voyage Dido made afterwards from Tyre to Carthage. When Alexander the Great was to make his entry into Babylon, there were embassies attending him from divers nations, who had employed their agents to give him a state of their several interests and affairs, and to beg he would accept an arbitration of their differences⁸. Arrian mentions that ambassadors from Africa waited upon him at this time⁹; and the Talmudical writers say that the Canaanites abovementioned, who had fled into Africa, were the people who made him this compliment; and that their deputies were instructed to lay before Alexander, how the Israelites had expelled their ancestors, and to entreat him to restore them back

⁶ Josh. xiii, 3. ⁷ See Judges v, 17.

⁸ Arrian. de Expedit. Alexand. lib. vii, p. 476.

⁹ Id. *ibid*.

to their old country again¹. But whether this was not a mere fancy of these writers, and whether Procopius had a sufficient information of what he related, I cannot determine.

Other writers tell us that Canaan sent out many colonies into divers parts of the world in these times², and Bochart hints that the states of Lesser Asia, of Greece, and the isles in the *Ægean* Sea, received many companies of Canaanites who fled from their own country. But whoever will duly examine the labours of this writer, will find that his whole work upon this subject shows rather a very learned appearance of argument, than true and real argument to support his opinion. The foreigners who might come from, or pass through Canaan into these countries, came earlier than the times of Joshua; of which Bochart himself could not but feel a conviction in many particulars. There were no revolutions in Greece, or its neighbour islands, which happened after the days of Joshua, but what may be accounted for without any migrations from Canaan into these countries. In like manner, the states in Lesser Asia, which were of figure in the succeeding times, and particularly the kingdom of Troy, which grew to be the mistress of these parts, were formed and growing up in their own strength, before Canaan was in trouble. And the wars of Joshua seem to have

¹ Vid. Gemar. Babylon. ad Tit. Sanhed. c. 11, f. 91; Seldens de Jure Natural. et Gent. lib. vii, c. 8.

² Vid. Bochart. de Colon. et Serm. Phœnic.

been so far from having had any effect which extended itself towards these countries, that we find nations through, or nigh unto which great routes of exiles must have passed, if any considerable migrations had been made out of Canaan into Lesser Asia, in these days, open and unguarded against incursions, careless, quiet, and secure, under no apprehensions that any neighbouring people might want settlements and be tempted to dispossess them³, of which they could not have been insensible, if many troops had passed their borders in their flight to foreign lands. The Israelites had indeed reduced many kingdoms of Canaan, and divided their countries, to each tribe their share; but they had not so entirely dispersed and destroyed the inhabitants, but that in a little time they got together again, formed themselves to a new strength, and were able to dispute with their conquerors, whether they should have the towns, which, when pressed by Joshua to a precipitate flight, they seemed to have evacuated and given up⁴. I must add to all this, that there were many states and cities of Canaan that stood still in their strength, unattacked by the Israelites⁵, who were able afterwards to bring into the field numerous armies⁶. To these the scattered remains of the nations which were reduced did undoubtedly fly; and it is reasonable to suppose, that the cities to

³ See Judges xviii, 7.

⁴ Judges i, 1, compared with Josh. xii, 13.

⁵ See Josh. xiii, 2—6.

⁶ Judges i, 4.

which they fled might be willing to receive and provide for them, in order to strengthen themselves by an addition of people, rather than to have them desert the country and leave Canaan. It is very probable, an increase of people in this manner was what raised the strength of the Philistines in a few ages, so as to make them more than a match for all Israel⁷.

Joshua lived several years, after he had fixed the Israelites in their settlements in the land⁸, and had the satisfaction to see them happy in a scene of great peace and quiet all the rest of his days. He was now *old and stricken in years*⁹: and as he did not expect to be much longer with them, he summoned a congregation of all Israel¹, represented the great things which GOD had done for them, observed to them how he had been enabled to assign them their inheritance², and assured them, that if they would truly and strictly keep the law, and not associate themselves contrary to it, with the nations, which as yet were not expelled the land, that GOD would certainly, in due time, entirely drive them out, and give the Israelites full possession of all Canaan³. But, said he, on the other hand, if ye do not persevere, but shall incline unto the remnant of the nations which are left, and make marriages and alliances with them, then GOD will not drive them out, but the nations with

⁷ Vid. lib. Samuel.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ver. 3, 4.

² Josh. xxiii, 1.

¹ Ver. 2.

³ Ver. 5—11.

whom ye shall have thus engaged yourselves, shall be *snares and traps, scourges and thorns to you*⁴, shall in various ways seduce and incommode, bring distress and calamities upon you, until ye shall perish from off this good land, which the LORD your GOD hath given you⁵. I, in a little time, shall die and leave you; but suffer me to remind you, how punctually hitherto every good thing has befallen you, which GOD promised; and let me tell you, that every evil, which GOD has threatened, will as exactly come upon you, if ye transgress the covenant of the LORD your GOD⁶.

Some time after, he summoned the tribes to Shechem⁷, and sent thither *for the elders of Israel, and for their heads, and for their judges, and for their officers* to attend him before the LORD⁸,

⁴ Josh. xxiii, 13.

⁵ Ver. 15.

⁶ Ver. 14—16.

⁷ Chap. xxiv, 1.

⁸ Some copies of the LXX read *Shiloh* and not *Shechem* in this place, and as Joshua and the elders are said to have *presented themselves before God*, i. e. at the Tabernacle, agreeably to which sense of the expression it appears, ver. 26, that they were, at their holding their meeting, by or at the sanctuary of the LORD; and as the tabernacle was set up, not at Shechem, but at Shiloh, chap. xviii, 1, it may be thought, that here is some mistake, and that Shiloh not Shechem was the place to which Joshua convened the tribes of Israel. Some of the critics thought the ark and tabernacle were removed to Shechem against the holding of this convention, but we have no hints of the fact having been so, nor occasion to suppose it. Shechem and Shiloh were about twelve miles distant from one another. Joshua lived at Timnath-Serah, a place almost in the mid-way between them. He summoned the tribes to meet in the fields of Shechem; and from thence he called the heads of the tribes and officers to attend him to Shiloh to present themselves be-

where he repeated to them all the mercies which God had vouchsafed to their fathers and to them, from the calling of Abraham down to that day⁹; then he desired them to consider and resolve whether they would indeed faithfully serve God, or whether they would choose to fall away to idolatry¹. Upon their assuring him that they would not forsake the LORD to serve other gods², Joshua reminded them, that to serve their God was a thing not so easy to be done as said³, for that God would be strict in demanding from them a punctual performance of what he had required, and that if they should be remiss, or unmindful of it, that his vengeance would most certainly fall upon them⁴. Hereupon they repeated their resolution to serve the LORD⁵. Well then, said Joshua, if, after all this, ye will not do it, let your own declarations this day testify against you⁶; unto which the people readily assented⁷. Thus did Joshua sum-

fore God. All the tribes of Israel were gathered to Shechem; but not all the tribes, rather the heads, judges and officers only, presented themselves before God. A meeting of all the tribes must form a camp, not to be accommodated, but in a large and open country. Shechem had in its borders fields enough for the reception of all the people. See Gen. xxxiii, 19. Here therefore they met, and from hence made such detachments to Shiloh, a place in the neighbourhood, as the purposes for which they were convened required. Take the fact to have been thus, and the difficulties, which some commentators surmise in this passage, do all vanish.

⁹ Josh. xxiv, 2—13.

¹ Ver. 14, 15.

² Ver. 16, 17, 18

³ Ver. 19.

⁴ Ver. 20.

⁵ Ver. 21.

⁶ Ver. 22.

⁷ Ibid.

mon them to a most strict engagement, never to vary or depart from the law which God had given them⁸. And that a lasting sense of what they had in so solemn a manner agreed to, might remain upon them, he wrote what had passed in the book of the law⁹, and set up a pillar of remembrance of it¹, and then dismissed the people. Not long after, Joshua, being a hundred and ten years old, died, and was buried on the north side of the hill of Gaash, in the border of his inheritance in Timnath-Serah². Josephus informs us that Joshua governed the Israelites twenty-five years after the death of Moses³, accordingly we must fix the time of his death about A. M. 2578.

It has been a matter of dispute among the learned, whether Joshua was himself the author of the book which is called by his name⁴. But, 1. It is obvious, that the book of Joshua seems to hint, that a person, one of the Israelites, who made the miraculous passage over Jordan, was the writer of it. This the first verse of the fifth chapter intimates: *When all the kings of the Amorites . . . heard, that the LORD had dried up the waters of Jordan from before the children of Israel, until we were passed over*⁵ . . .; the writer would not have here used the first person, *WE* were

⁸ Josh. xxiv, 25.

⁹ Ver. 26.

¹ Ver. 27.

² Ver. 29, 30.

³ Joseph. Antiq. lib. v, c. 1.

⁴ Vid. Pool. Synop. Critic. Cleric. in Dissert. de Scriptorib. Historic.; Vet. Testam. Carpzov. introduc. ad Libros Hist. Vet. Test.; et al.

⁵ The Hebrew words are, ער-עברנו.

passed over, if himself had not been one of the persons who had passed the river⁶: 2. It is evident that this book was written before Rahab died; for we are told, that *Joshua saved Rahab the harlot alive, and her father's household, and all that she had, and she dwelleth in Israel to this day*⁷. The writer was here willing to record to posterity, that Rahab had not only her life given her, but that she was so well received by the Israelites, as to continue even then to dwell among them; a remark which could not have been made after Rahab was dead; and consequently the book which has it must have been composed whilst Rahab was yet alive. Rahab was afterwards married to Salmon, the son of Naasson⁸, the head of the house of Judah¹; had she been so, when the book of Joshua was composed, I imagine that the author of it, as he appears, by the hint abovementioned, inclined to intimate all the good circumstances of her condition, would not have omitted that, and consequently, by her marriage not being mentioned, we have some reason to think that the book of Joshua had been written, not late in Ra-

⁶ I ought not to omit, that the marginal reference in the Hebrew Bibles reads the word עברם; but the learned allow that the Hebrew Keri and Ketib are not of such authority, that we must be absolutely determined by it. Walton. Bibl. Polyglot. Prolegom. viii, c. 26.

⁷ Josh. vi, 25.

⁸ The remark is not, that Rahab's family, descendants, or father's household were then in Israel; but the verb is ורשע, in the third person feminine, and refers to Rahab in particular.

⁹ Matt. i, 5.

¹ Numb. i, 7.

hab's life. 3. We are expressly informed, that Joshua did himself write, and add what he wrote to *the book of the law of God*². 4. The words which inform us of this fact may, if taken in their natural sense, and according to the construction put upon words of the like import, when we find them upon ancient monuments or remains, be supposed to be Joshua's conclusion of his book, designed by him to inform posterity, that himself was the writer of it. *Joshua wrote these words in the book of the law*, &c. may fairly imply, unless we have good reason to think the fact was otherwise, that all that was found written *in the book of the law*, from the end of what was penned by the hand of Moses, unto the close of the period, of which these words are a part, was written by Joshua, and this was the opinion of the Talmudists³. Joshua was the only sacred penman whom we read of that the Israelites had in his age; and after he had finished the division of the land, he had many years of great leisure⁴. In these he probably applied himself to give account of the death and burial of Moses⁵, and from thence continued a narrative of what had been transacted under his own direction⁶, filling it up with a general terrier of the settlements of the tribes⁶, such as must have been expedient for the Israelites to have on record, to prevent confusion about their inheritances in

² Josh. xxiv, 26.

³ Bava Bathra, cap. 1.

⁴ Josh. xxiii, 1.

⁵ Deut. xxxiv.

⁶ Josh. i—xii.

⁷ Chap. xiii—xxii.

future ages. After having done this, he summoned the tribes⁸, gave them his exhortations, and having added, to what he had before prepared, an account of the conventions which he had held, and what had passed at them, he transcribed⁹ the whole into the book of the law, and then dismissed the people¹. Accordingly, I take the work of Joshua to begin from where Moses ended, at the xxxivth chapter of Deuteronomy, and to end with the 27th verse of the xxivth chapter of Joshua. As Joshua thus added at the end of Deuteronomy the account of Moses's death; so what we find from the 28th verse of the xxivth chapter of Joshua to the end of that book, was unquestionably not written until Joshua and all the elders his contemporaries, who outlived him, were gone off the stage², and was added to the end of the book of Joshua, by some sacred penman, who was afterwards employed to record the subsequent state of the affairs of Israel.

As to the objections made against Joshua's being the writer of the book so called, they are but inconsiderable. It is remarked, that there are many short hints and intimations in divers parts of the book, which appear evidently of later date than Joshua's time. Of the stones which Joshua set up at Gilgal, it is observed that they were *there unto this day*, a remark very proper to be made in a

⁸ Josh. xxiii, 2.

⁹ Chap. xxiv, 26.

¹ Ver. 28.

² Ver. 31.

³ Chap. vii, 26.

distant age, but not likely to be hinted by Joshua, of a monument designed by him, not so much for his own times, as for the information of a late posterity⁴. Of the Canaanites in divers tribes it is suggested, that the Israelites did not drive them out, but admitted them to live among them, and made them pay tribute⁵; and of the tribe of Dan, that they went up against Leshem⁶. But **this** expedition was not taken until after Joshua's death⁷, nor did the tribes of Israel come to agreement with the inhabitants of Canaan, whilst Joshua was living⁸; therefore all these observations must have come not from Joshua, but from a later hand. We are told, that what Joshua wrote about the Sun and Moon's standing still was also found in the book of Jasher⁹; but the book of Jasher was more modern than these times. It contained hints of what David desired the children of Judah might be taught¹, and therefore was a book probably not in being until David's age. In like manner, a tract of land in the sixth chapter of Joshua is called Cabul², but this country seems not to have had this name until Hiram called it so in the days of Solomon³. I might add to these some other observations of a like sort⁴; but how obvious

⁴ Josh. iv, 21, 22.

⁵ Chap. xiii, 9; xvi, 10.

⁶ Chap. xix, 47.

⁷ Judg. xviii.

⁸ Chap. i.

⁹ Ibid, x, 13.

¹ 2 Sam. i, 18.

² Josh. xix, 27.

³ 1 Kings ix, 13.

⁴ Vid. Cleric. Dissertat. de Scriptoribus, lib. Histor. Vet. Testam.

is it to reply to all of them? 1. That the observation of Rahab's being alive⁵ suggests that the book of Joshua had been composed long before any of these more modern intimations could be given; and consequently, that none of these could be in the original book of Joshua. 2. The learned are abundantly satisfied, that there are many little strictures and observations of this nature now found in divers parts of the sacred books, which were not written by the composers of the books in which they are found⁶. 3. Dean Prideaux says of them that they were additions made by Ezra, when, upon the return from the captivity, he collected and settled for the Jews a correct copy of their holy Scriptures⁷. What authority this most learned writer had for this opinion, I cannot say; I suspect it proceeded from a desire to preserve the same regard for these additions and interpolations which is due to the sacred writings; for he says, Ezra was assisted in making these additions by the same Spirit by which the books were at first written⁸. But, whether Ezra made his copy of the Scriptures from original books of them then extant; or rather, whether he did not make his copy from collecting and comparing such transcribed copies as were in the hands of the Israelites of his time; whether in the copies he consulted, the additions we are speaking of might not stand as mar-

⁵ Josh. vi, 25.

⁶ See Prideaux, *Connect.* part i, book v.

⁷ *Id.* *ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

ginal hints made by private hands in their copies of the sacred books; whether Ezra could ever design either to add to the sacred books, or to diminish ought from them^o; though perhaps finding divers of these intimations of use to the reader for illustrating, and comparing one^e part of the sacred writings with another, or suggesting what might explain an obscure or antiquated name or passage in them, he might take such as he judged thus serviceable into his copy also; but whether he did not insert them in his copy, as marginal hints and observations only; and whether their being made, as we now find them, part of the text, has not been owing to the mistake or carelessness of later transcribers from Ezra's copy; are points which I submit, with all due deference, to the judgment of the learned.

^o Prov. xxx, 6.

END OF VOL. III.

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